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AN
INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY
OF CHRISTIANITY



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AN INTRODUCTION
TO THE
HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY
A. D. 590–1314

BY

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New York
THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
1921

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Set up and electrotyped. Published October, 1921.

322 83

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

TO THE MEMORY OF MY FRIEND

BARRETT WENDELL

PREFACE

The object of this work is to give such an introduction to the history of the Middle Ages as to make its readers desire more knowledge of this important epoch in the development of mankind. I have attempted to present the main features of the period, treated in Chapters which are rather essays than chronicles, in the hope of stimulating further enquiry.

Of recent years comparatively little interest has been displayed in the Middle Ages; and the subject does not appear to be for the moment popular in the Universities either of Great Britain or America. This may be due to the history of the period being largely ecclesiastical, since nothing can explain it but the realisation that a Christian ideal dominated society. Possibly for this reason two views of the Middle Ages have become fashionable, both equally erroneous. On the one hand people have invested them with a halo of sanctity, and have even maintained that in the thirteenth century humanity reached a height which it has never since attained. That this century is worthy of this encomium, despite the great men which it produced, was strenuously denied by those who lived in it, and considered that the world had reached the culminating point of human wickedness; nor can the modern student wonder at this pessimism. On the other hand, and this has contributed not a little to the present lack of interest, it is maintained that the Middle Ages have little to teach us. A period of superstition and ignorance has no interest for days of enlightenment; and men who lived in a world of aristocratic privilege have nothing in common with those who enjoy the blessings of democracy. But the more we know of the conditions of those times, the plainer does it become that our problems are often the same under different names, and that even modern views, which pass for being advanced, have their counterpart in these days. After all we

are the inheritors of the Middle Ages; and they have bequeathed to us many of our hardest problems. The story of the Crusades is enough to convince the most sceptical that the Near East was one of the difficulties which our ancestors faced; and if they failed, can it be said that we have succeeded?

The closeness of our connection with this remote period is proved by our inability to write impartially concerning it. We cannot as purely disinterested persons hold the balance between the Papacy and the Empire, or discuss the Anglo-Norman conquest of Ireland as detached spectators of a drama which does not concern us. All we can do is to endeavour to transport ourselves back to the past, and try to realise how men acted under the circumstances. By this means we can learn from men's successes and mistakes how to encounter the problems of the present.

I had hoped to cover a longer period in this volume; but I found it impossible to do even the barest justice to the first part of the Middle Ages, which culminated in the close of the thirteenth century. The destruction of the most powerful crusading force, that of the Knights Templar, seemed a suitable halting place. Hereafter I hope to be able to continue the narrative in a volume, which might fitly be styled the "Decline and Fall of the Church Empire." This Empire, like that of Rome, has vanished, but has left its mark indelibly upon the world.

I have deliberately employed terms which are now supposed to be unscientific in speaking of Dark Ages and Middle Ages, because they are the most satisfactory expressions of my meaning. The period from Gregory I to the first half of the eleventh century witnessed the disappearance of the civilization, and, in a sense, of the very peoples of the ancient world. Dark as they were, the times were illuminated by the success and expansion of the Christian religion. After this arose a new fabric of social order, called Medievalism, with an art, political ideas and a philosophy of its own. Much has come down to us; for, in a sense, we are still in the Middle Ages.

Many of my friends have allowed me to occupy much valuable time in the discussion of various points. My colleagues at the Union Theological Seminary have been unfailing in their sympathy and assistance. Professor E. F. Scott has read all the proof sheets; Professor Rockwell has revised the bibliographies; Professor H. Ward has given me the benefit of his advice on the economic history of Chapter XIII; Professor Fagnani has saved me from several mistakes in Chapter XIV; I have to thank Professor E. Munroe Smith of Columbia University for revising and correcting the legal statements in Chapter VIII. I have also to acknowledge the help I received from my brother fellow Mr. B. L. Manning of Jesus College, Cambridge, and the good advice given from the Roman Catholic standpoint by Mrs. Charles B. Perkins of Boston, Mass. The Index has been prepared as a gracious act of friendship by Miss Helen Maud Slee. The literary assistance I received from my friend, the late Professor Barrett Wendell, to whose memory I have dedicated this book, was invaluable.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY

CHAPTER I

THE PILLARS OF THE MEDIEVAL CHURCH

Monasticism and the Papacy

The Middle Ages are hard to define — Sense in which the word medieval is employed — Why the sixth century has been selected — Ambrose, Augustine, and Jerome, classicists — Gregory the Great medieval — World renunciation — Monasticism and the Papacy — Asceticism in primitive Christianity — Rapid spread of Monasticism — Benedict of Nursia — Rule of St. Benedict — Missionary activity of the monks — Clergy become monastic — The Breviary — Monasticism preserved civilization — Growth of an hierarchy of Bishops — Antioch — Alexandra — Constantinople and Jerusalem — Rome and the Western Church — The early popes — Rome becomes a holy city — Rise of the medieval papacy — The City of Rome from Justinian to Gregory — Rome attracts pilgrims — Rome has to depend on herself for protection — Papal estates — Gregory a Roman Noble — Gregory at Constantinople — The Dialogues — Gregory and relics — Primacy of Rome — Gregory and Maurice — John the Faster — Ravenna and the "pall" — Gregory and the Episcopate — Conversion of the English — The Papal Administration — Dramatic appeal of the Church in Rome (a) Gregory's procession — (b) Baptismal ceremonial — (c) The Mass — The Canon — Gregory's additions.

It cannot be determined precisely where the line between medieval and early Christianity is to be drawn. The historian who attempts to do this must know that he cannot succeed, because there are no definite periods in history. Just as in life it is impossible to say when a man passes from boyhood to youth or from youth to middle age, so, because there is a continuity in history as in life, it cannot be alleged at this period a certain age ends and another commences. Yet both in the lifetime of an individual, and also in the longer story of a great institution like the Church, it is perfectly clear that certain traits and characteristics belong to middle age rather than youth. For this reason the first step will be to state what seem

to be characteristics of the Middle Ages, and the next to say why a date has been chosen even somewhat arbitrarily as a starting point.

The adjective "medieval" is applied to the civilization which was created after the complete break up of the earlier Græco-Roman society. It can only strictly be employed in this sense of the Western half of the Christian Church, because the civilization which radiated from Constantinople was, till its destruction by Turkish barbarism, that of the ancient world. New Rome had for eleven centuries conserved the art, the literature, the laws of Greece and Imperial Rome. She had never sunk into the barbarous condition of the ancient city in the ninth, tenth, and first half of the eleventh centuries. Nor had the lands under the sway of the Cæsars of Byzantium suffered the utter destruction which had overwhelmed the Gauls, Spain, and Britain, and compelled the reconstruction of society with little assistance from the experience of the past.

The Western world began to build from the very foundation and in so doing developed a new structure of society, a new art, and a new learning. For a time at least the old classical culture was abandoned, and in its place an endeavour was made to create a civilization entirely Christian. In the East the Empire was continued and became Christian; but in the West a Christian Empire was deliberately recreated after the lapse of centuries. The Gothic cathedral, with its rejection of classic forms and its new conceptions of beauty, is a permanent symbol of the spirit of medieval reconstruction; and even scholastic learning was, not so much an attempt to bring Aristotle into accord with Christianity, as to make the old Christian learning conform to the laws of the newly discovered Aristotle.

For this reason it has been decided to commence the story of the Middle Ages neither with the Peace of the Church in A.D. 313, nor with the so-called end of the Western Empire, though much may be said in favour of both dates. When the persecution, begun by Diocletian, was ended finally by the edict of Milan, the compact between the Christian Church and the Roman Empire to unite to rule mankind was really initi-

ated. The vision of Constantine which assured him that Jesus would protect the army with the standard of the *labarum* is as medieval as the discovery of the true Cross by his mother St. Helena. So again, when Odovacar handed over the imperial insignia to Constantinople with a message to the Emperor Zeno that an Augustus was no longer needed in Italy, it was the beginning of an era in which the barbarian Teutons openly recognized themselves as the real rulers of the Western provinces; and this might fitly be made an excuse for alleging that the Middle Ages had already begun. The reason for choosing a later date is, however, the distinction to be drawn between the medieval Christian and his predecessors who may be said more properly to belong to the classical period.

Three of the four great fathers of the West, Ambrose, Augustine, and Jerome, were educated, if not under pagan, at least under classical influences. Ambrose, as is well known, was elected Bishop of Milan, when he was an unbaptized official, present in the city in order to keep the peace between the rival Christian factions. He had been brought up and educated as a Roman gentleman of the fourth century. He drew many of his ideas during his episcopate from the books he had studied in his youth. His ethics, for example, are based as much on Cicero as on the Wisdom books of the Old Testament or on the moral teaching of the New. Augustine, an African born in a humbler rank of life, but educated for academic employment, though his mother was a devout Christian, became one himself only after a long search. Acquiring an admiration for virtue from Cicero's Hortensius, he sought for truth in vain among the Manichæans, and found it partially in Neo-platonism. All the while he was acting as a teacher in different universities, Carthage, Rome and Milan. As for Jerome, who was not born in a position entitling him to take part in the administration of the Empire, nor with the necessity of making a living by the drudgery of professorial labour, he was far better equipped as a scholar than either of his famous contemporaries, and throughout his life he affects to deplore the fatal fascination which the classical literature exercised on his mind. In vain did

he try to recollect that an angel had told him, "Thou art not a Christian, but a Ciceronian."

Very different is the fourth great father, Pope Gregory I. Like Ambrose he was born of a patrician family, and began life as a civil administrator, rising to the dignity of prefect of Rome. But here the parallel ceases. By education he was a Christian, and no humanist. He has no hankering after the beauties of antiquity; to him they are pagan and nothing more. He writes well, because he is an honest capable man who has something worth saying, not because he has studied the best models and is anxious about his style. His outlook is not that of a converted pagan, but of a Christian born and bred. In him the classical age, which closed with Boethius, is dead and a new era has begun.

For a spirit had come into the world which completely changed the old order. With the cessation of persecution the monastic movement had begun; and of the Middle Ages it may be said that everybody was a monk at heart, in the sense that no man was so usefully employing his life for the benefit of others, but he acknowledged that the summons of the monastery or of the hermit's cell was a call to better things, and even sinners believed that repentance could most surely be found in the self-torture of solitary asceticism. To all men the monastic life represented the highest goal on this earth. In this way the medieval ideal is quite distinct from the modern, which places service as a citizen, as the head of a family, as a worker for others, far above the life of contemplation, whereas in the Middle Ages it was held that the more a man devoted himself to meditation and subjugation of the flesh to the spirit the more pleasing was he in the sight of God. In England, and later throughout Europe, the dissolution of the monasteries sounded the death-knell of medievalism.

Monasticism was the first characteristic of this long period: the second was respect for ecclesiastical authority. The priest was not so much the minister or servant of the people as the intermediary between them and heaven, the dispenser of those blessings without which salvation was impossible. And higher

than all priesthood in the West was that of the supreme pontiff, the representative of the Chief of the Apostles and the Vicar of Christ upon earth. In a word monasticism and the papacy were the cornerstones of the medieval system, without which the edifice raised by the toil of ages could not stand. As Christianity was originally neither an ascetic nor an hierarchical religion, the first thing to be sought is how it became both within five centuries of its inception, if not much earlier.

No doubt Jesus Christ often withdrew to the desert for communion with God, and fasted before he entered upon his mission to mankind. Still He was no ascetic. He says that he came "eating and drinking": He lived among men, sharing in their homely festivals, and not disdaining the hospitality of his friends. His disciples are contrasted with those of John and of the Pharisees, who fasted often. Nor were the early Christians confused with any of the ascetic Jewish sects. But the seriousness of the call, and the dread of impending judgment predisposed many to stricter discipline, which, however, was distrusted by some wiser Christians, as savouring of the Gnostic abhorrence of material existence. But the almost morbid fear of the early Church of anything approaching sexual impurity led to asceticism, and to the belief that an absolutely virgin life was far more pleasing to God than the performance of family duties. Hence in most churches the profession of virginity became increasingly popular. Martyrdom also contributed to the practice of asceticism. Those who looked forward to the contest for the faith before the judge and in the arena, regarded themselves as "athletes of Christ" and trained themselves for the trial by abstinence and mortification; and there is but little doubt that the extraordinary insensibility to pain manifested was in part the result of long mental, moral, and, perhaps, physical discipline. But with the disappearance of the danger of martyrdom Christian zeal sought other outlets. The Church, tolerated and favoured by imperial authority, could not satisfy the zeal which had but recently braved the fire of persecution; and men fled from a half heathen world to seek for God and wrestle against the powers of evil in the remotest wilderness.

In the first decades of the fourth century the monks had spread themselves throughout the deserts of Egypt.

From this time the passion for monastic life spread throughout the Christian world. It appeared next in Syria. In 340 Athanasius went to Rome, it is said, with monks in his company, who attracted much attention. Before the close of the century it was customary to visit Egypt in order to study the monks in their original home. By the opening of the fifth century there were monks throughout Gaul and in distant Britain. The movement was lay rather than clerical: it was an impulse which drove men into the solitude of the desert, which thousands were forced to obey. At first it was completely unorganized. In some instances the solitaries grouped themselves around some renowned ascete, in others men attempted to work out their own salvation by themselves. Gradually some sort of order was found to be indispensable, and rules were established for groups of monks. The first legislator was Pachom, an Egyptian who established a community at Tabennæ, an island on the Nile. St. Basil, the great Bishop of Cæsarea (*ob.* 379), organized the monastic communities in his diocese and furnished them with his rule which has since become the normal standard of Christian monasticism in the East. About this time Jerome was living among the Syrian hermits and rivalling them in austerity. A little later Cassian visited Egypt and brought back a report of the monastic discipline to Gaul. Rome attracted hosts of monks, some of them impostors, as Jerome asserts, who preyed on the fine ladies of the capital. Jerome himself directed his female followers in asceticism and finally retired to the Holy Land to found a monastery at Bethlehem, whilst his noble and learned friends, Paula and Eustochium, dwelt in the neighbouring nunnery. Augustine was converted by hearing of the austerities of the monks in Egypt; and as a bishop lived a semi-monastic life surrounded by his clergy. His great adversary Pelagius was a monk of Britain. Within little more than a century of its inception the monastic life had come to be regarded as the consummation and flower of Christianity.

The great epoch of Western Monasticism, however, began in the sixth century with St. Benedict of Nursia, the founder of the celebrated Benedictine rule. When quite a boy he fled accompanied by his nurse to the site of Nero's famous villa at Subiaco (*Sub lacum*). There he practised his austerities and attracted disciples. He was exposed to many trials from the jealousy of the neighbouring monks, and when he accepted the duty of abbot over some of them, he was almost poisoned for endeavouring to bring them to a sense of their obligations. As, however, the fame of his sanctity increased he issued to his immediate disciples his famous Rule, which, though only intended for the monasteries in the neighbourhood of Monte Cassino, became a standard for all western monks. His advice is remarkable for its wisdom, its knowledge of human nature, and its recognition of the duty of work as well as devotion; and it is noteworthy that in later days every reform of Benedictine Monasticism lay in making the rule of the saint more burthensome. The greatest testimony to his wisdom, however, lies in the fact that the order, which adhered faithfully to his principles, outshone all those who tried to surpass it in austerity; and to this day a Benedictine monastery is almost inevitably a home of learning. With the founder, however, work meant field labour; and it was only later that study became a part of the Rule.

When one studies monastic history, and sees how one ascetic tried to surpass the other in extravagant austerities, the character of the Benedictine rule is truly surprising. The Roman in the founder appears in his love of order, system, regularity. There is a sense of proportion in all he enjoins and at the same time all is placed on the highest level of duty to God and desire to please Him. The great virtues recommended are ready obedience to superiors, and humility, which is reached by twelve stages. The work insisted upon is to be that best suited to the monk. If he has a trade he may ply it for the benefit of the monastery. The rule of cloister is to be strictly observed and each monastery is to be, if possible, self-supporting. Benedict's own monastery of Monte Cassino was destroyed by the

Lombards in 580 and his monks and his rule migrated in that year to Rome.

Nothing in the Rule of St. Benedict, or for that matter in any other rule, provides for monks working directly for the benefit of mankind: the ideal is seclusion. The monk may save the world by his piety and holiness; but it is not part of his duty to labour for that end. Yet in its great days monasticism could never be a purely selfish pursuit of virtue, and it almost invariably broke through the bounds of the cloister for the sake of the world. Monasticism everywhere became a great missionary agency. From East to West it was the same. Over the deserts of Central Asia Nestorian monks were pressing towards China; Greek monks were making inroads into Russia; Irish or Scottish monks were planting monasteries on islands on the coast of Britain, exploring in boats of oxhide the inland waterways, and preparing to invade the heathen Angles, and to go far afield in pagan Europe with the message of the Gospel. The same spirit was in the monks of St. Andrew's on the Cælian Hill, whom Gregory selected to go to convert England and make it a province of the Roman Church. Centuries later, when Russia was groaning under the tyranny of the Tatar Khans, it was her Christian monks who were preparing for her vast empire by founding monasteries far beyond her northern frontiers, and in distant Siberia. Whatever were the original purpose and ideal of the movement, it was by monks that the Christian religion was being carried beyond the bounds of the Roman Empire at the height of its glory. The Christianity of the new nations was, unlike that of the first believers, a monastic creed.

With the appearance of monasticism the clergy themselves tended to come under some sort of ascetic rule. In newly founded missionary churches the bishop was an abbot and the clergy a convent of Benedictine monks. But in other places the bishop and his priests tended to form a community under some monastic rules; and it is claimed that such clergy or "Canons," from the Greek word meaning a rule, existed from the very age of the Apostles. This probably contributed to make it a law in

the West, that, unlike the East, all the priests should be unmarried.

The life of the monk was naturally spent largely in prayer: and in the West the expression of his devotion is to be found in the Breviary. The Hours of Prayer began overnight with Matins, succeeded before daybreak by Lauds; then followed Prime, Tierce, Nones, Sext, Vespers and Compline. This incessant round of prayer consisted originally of the recitation of the hundred and fifty psalms but gradually developed into devotions more varied, and possibly more edifying. The Psalms were rearranged and divided into Nocturns, their recitation was broken by readings from Scripture, anthems, antiphons, and responses. The stories of the saints were read as *legenda* (things to be read, hence our word "legend"). Short expressive prayers occur, and also hymns. A calendar regulated the offices for the day. There was no necessary uniformity; but the basis of all was the Psalter; out of this was gradually evolved the Breviary which has to be said daily by every Roman Catholic priest, and is otherwise known as the Divine Office. From this is derived the Morning and Evening Prayer of the Church of England, which has adapted a monastic service to congregational use.

For nearly a thousand years the monastic ideal was in a sense to dominate the Western Church and it is hardly too much to say that thereby Christianity was saved from being utterly overwhelmed by the constant inroads of the barbarians. Nor can it safely be said that its influence is dead, or that it will not again assert itself in Christianity. In a falling world, like that of the age which ushered in the medieval period, men were impelled to take refuge in the desert, the cloister or the forest that they might at least save their own souls from the impending destruction. Circumstances forced many to acknowledge the emptiness and misery of life on earth and to look for happiness outside the world. That those who did so were not all actuated by base or cowardly motives is proved by the services of the monks to mankind. Whether their world denying ethics will again be demanded to save civilization time alone can show.

The Medieval Church in the West was a body which tended more and more to centralize authority in the Church of Rome. Though in theory all bishops were endowed with equal powers, those who presided over the most important cities exercised increasing influence over their brethren. Long before the Peace of the Church, Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch were looked up to by all the surrounding churches, whilst Carthage had evidently extensive jurisdiction over the numerous episcopate of Africa and Numidia. But not only were the bishops of great capitals and sees of apostolic foundation regarded with respect, those of the leading provincial cities enjoyed a sort of local primacy. Thus before the Church entered into relations with the Empire the principles of an hierarchy of bishops existed, though the distinguishing titles of archbishop, patriarch, etc., had not yet come into use.

The three sees of Rome, Alexandria and Antioch had long been recognized as the leading bishoprics. Of these the most ancient was Antioch, where the believers were first called Christians, whence Barnabas and Saul started on their missionary journey, where Paul withstood Peter on the question of Gentile liberty. It was also famous for having sent Ignatius, its bishop, the greatest of all the primitive martyrs, to die at Rome for the Faith. The city was, moreover, recognized as the capital of the East and its bishop was regarded as the leader of churches stretching far beyond the frontiers of the Empire.

The peculiar position of Alexandria as capital of Egypt, which was not a province of the Roman Republic, but the personal property of Cæsar, gave its bishop an unique status. For a long time he was the only bishop in Egypt, nor did he originally seek his orders at the hands of his episcopal brethren. The twelve great presbyters of Alexandria elected one of their number, and placed him in the episcopal throne. The church could not boast an apostolic founder, but its origin was traced to the Evangelist St. Mark, once the companion of St. Paul, and distinguished by St. Peter as "Marcus my son." It claimed the position of the second see after Rome.

Two other sees were destined to enjoy with Alexandria and

Antioch the dignity of a patriarchate. Constantinople or New Rome was given by the Second General Council a place only inferior to that of Old Rome, and after much controversy it became the second see of Christendom; and Jerusalem which had, after the destructions of the Jewish city by the Romans, become a gentile city, called Ælia Capitolina, was added to the patriarchates, though its jurisdiction was very limited.

But the West was not partitioned out like the East. It was a patriarchate of itself under the jurisdiction of the bishop of the capital of the world. Not that the Roman Church claimed its position because of the earthly glory of the city. It had other and more spiritual claims to reverence. Peter and Paul were its founders: and both had testified to the faith by death in Rome. The martyrs of the first and most terrible persecution by Nero suffered there. Clement, the friend of Paul and follower of Peter, a name held in the highest honour in history and legend, was Bishop of Rome. Ignatius had written to the Roman Church on his way to martyrdom in the City, as to the church which held "the primacy of love"; Irenæus had taught at Rome and declared that there the true tradition, handed down from the days of its founders, was preserved. In the days of doubt and difficulty, when in every church bishops of suspicious orthodoxy had presided, Arians in Constantinople and Antioch, Monophysites at Alexandria, the Roman pontiff had always maintained the Faith. He had proved himself the protector of those whom the East had unjustly condemned, like Athanasius and John Chrysostom; he had stricken down heretics like Nestorius and Eutyches. Such were the claims of Rome to respect in antiquity, and even though in this enumeration a few less creditable incidents, like the alleged Arianism of Liberius, have been conveniently ignored, the tradition of the Roman Church was more honourable than that of any great Oriental sees.

The See of Rome was fortunate in producing but rarely a bishop of outstanding personality, so that its prestige was due rather to its peculiar importance than to the commanding genius of any individual. Indeed none of the greatest of the

early fathers, with the sole exception of Hippolytus, belonged to the Roman Church. Rome had no worthies to compare with the Tertullians, Cyprians and Augustines of Africa, with Alexandrians such as Clement, Origen, Athanasius, Didymus, and Cyril, with men of Asiatic birth like Polycarp, Irenæus, Polycrates of Ephesus, and Theophilus of Antioch. No martyred bishop of Rome appealed to popular imagination like Ignatius and Pothinus of Antioch. Yet when a pope does emerge from obscurity it is almost invariably as a man of sound practical judgment, often morally superior to his contemporaries. The Epistle written by the Church of Rome to Corinth, which is associated with the name of Clement, though it never occurs in the letter, is, though a fantastic production, full of good sense. Anicetus treated Polycarp with Christian courtesy. Victor at least saw that Montanism was likely to disturb the church, and acted with vigour. Despite the invectives of Hippolytus one can recognize in Callistus an excellent administrator. In later times Julius's conduct in the Arian controversy was admirable. Innocent, early in the next century, behaved justly and honourably in his defence of John Chrysostom.

The early popes therefore did little to hinder, if they displayed no great genius in advancing, the claims of the See of Rome. But the reverence for the City of Rome as the capital of the Christian world grew steadily. The earliest Christians regarded Rome as Babylon "drunk with the blood of the saints," but in a few generations the City became holy, sanctified by the blood of the martyrs. It is interesting to observe how the church, though entitled that of St. Peter and St. Paul, became actually entirely devoted to the memory and the honour of St. Peter; for it is not without significance that Paul lies far from the city on the Ostian way.

But great as was the influence of the Roman See and Bishop, and although Leo the Great had played a most important part in the church and even in the politics of the time, the day of the Papacy, in the medieval sense of the term, was not yet. As long as the Roman imperial authority was of influence in Italy and men could look for help to the Emperor or even his

deputy, so long the Pope was no more than the Bishop of the first see in Christendom. But the time was to come, when all the civilized inhabitants of Italy groaning under barbarian tyranny would seek help in vain from Emperor and Exarch, and find their only resource in the Roman Pontiff. This happened at the close of the sixth century when the Romans found an effectual protector in Gregory I, whose pontificate suggested the idea but rarely realized, of the head of the Roman Church representing the order of the ancient Empire and acting as the main prop of the shaking fabric of civilization.

Rightly to understand the significance of the work of Gregory the Great it is necessary to recapitulate the fortunes of Rome from the accession of Justinian, A.D. 527.

The Catholic Church had never submitted willingly to the rule of Theodoric and his Ostrogoths. Whatever were its merits, it was barbarian and Arian; and, as Romans and Catholics, the people resented it. When therefore Theodoric was dead, and the Emperor was sending his armies to reconquer Italy from the foreign yoke, they were welcomed by the native inhabitants. But the terrible and "truceless" war against the Ostrogoths with the repeated sieges of Rome utterly ruined the City; and at one time it is said to have been entirely uninhabited. Not that it was a city of ruins: no sieges without cannon could have made it that. It still stood with its houses, temples, baths, theatres, and aqueducts, but all were empty and idle. Nor would Rome as the capital of the world have in this century attracted a population. So far as one can judge the interest in its old glories had vanished. What drew men back to its deserted streets were the relics of the martyrs, the churches, and, above all, the tombs of St. Peter and St. Paul. Rome arose from her desolation a holy city.

The tendency to regard Rome as a sacred spot began with the removal of the seat of government from the imperial city. It is found in the heathen poets of the period as well as among the Christians. Damasus (366–384) restored and redecorated the catacombs, and thus attracted pilgrims from all parts. And as old Rome became less and less of interest, with the loss of

the books and leisure necessary to study the story of ancient days, new Rome, with her legends of Early Christian saints, and her immense store of potent wonder-working relics became the centre of pious pilgrimages. For it is a noteworthy fact, and one which makes the close of the sixth century the beginning of medievalism especially in the West, that the interest in antiquity seemed to cease. The great fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries had been, as a rule, educated in the atmosphere of the old world, and never lost their literary culture. Gregory the Great, the fourth great Latin father, is, as has been said, purely patristic. His interests are wholly Christian, and no angel was required to rebuke him, as Jerome had been in his vision. Rome had become uncompromisingly Christian when he ascended the papal throne.

But further, Christian Rome, though no longer more than the titular capital of the Empire, had perforce to become self-protecting. The conquest of Italy by Justinian's generals, Belisarius and Narses, and the overthrow of the Gothic kingdom was a disaster in that it placed the peninsula under a government, powerless to protect, and efficient only to tax the inhabitants. The semi-civilized Ostrogoths made way for the uncivilized Lombards, who poured in as conquerors, confining the territory of the Empire to the district around Ravenna, the duchies of Rome and Naples and the south. Pressed on all sides the Romans had perforce to organize in their defence and were compelled to turn from the Greek administrators, who were corrupt and inefficient, to their own bishop, who thus became more and more a temporal ruler, in other words, a Pope in the modern sense of the word.

The correspondence of Gregory I reveals that in his day the Pope was the richest man in Italy. How acquired we know not, but certainly at the end of the sixth century he owned land in all parts of the Empire, and especially in Sicily. In such a city as Rome, without industries, and a population mainly clerical, the possession of wealth entailed the duty of feeding the people. The Pope really took the place of the Emperor, whose first duty had been to keep the capital fed and amused.

Gregory's energies were necessarily devoted to providing the people with *panis;* and fortunately he possessed unusual ability in business. As a Christian bishop he naturally could not emulate the great men of ancient Rome in giving *circenses;* but, as an alternative, he provided ecclesiastical processions and ceremonies, qualified to absorb the interest of a population which largely consisted of an idle, if pious, proletariat.

It is noteworthy that the very greatest of the Popes have been Romans, or men whose previous career had been entirely devoted to the business of the Church of Rome. There have been some really great men, who have been called upon to preside over the Church from other countries; and even, contrary to early practice, from other dioceses, but these popes have either been unpopular with the Roman people or have not been able to survive the climate long enough to make a mark. St. Gregory I, perhaps the greatest, and probably the best man who ever occupied the chair of St. Peter, was no exception. He was a Roman of the Romans. Born of good family, descended from a pope, Felix III (483–492) or Felix IV (526–530), the son of a Roman noble called Gordianus and his wife Silvia, Gregory had held the secular office of Præfectus Urbis, in ancient days one of the most honourable in the Empire, and even then a position of considerable importance, and great responsibility. At his father's death, however, he made over the fortune he inherited for religious purposes, founding seven monasteries, the most famous being the one which he himself joined, that of St. Andrew on the Cælian Hill.

Pope Pelagius appointed Gregory his ambassador to Constantinople when he remained for about seven years. Strange to say he never was able to acquire any knowledge of the language, though Greek was already officially employed in New Rome. This obtuseness in being powerless to learn another tongue shows itself not infrequently in men of undoubted genius. St. Augustine, for example, though a Latin rhetorician of no ordinary eminence, confesses that, when taught Greek at school, he never could gain a working knowledge of the language. The historian Procopius visited Italy and carried away

no Latin. Lord Clive, though he won the confidence of the natives as few Englishmen have done, and laid the foundation of the British Empire in India, as much by his administrative as by his political and military skill, was only able to communicate with the Hindoos through an interpreter. The fact is that linguistic ability, whilst sometimes an indication, is by no means a guarantee of exceptional mental power. Gregory was unquestionably a highly gifted man despite the fact that he was deficient in the power, or perhaps the desire, to learn Greek.

In Gregory both the weakness and the strength of the medieval mind appear to be almost incarnate, and it is surprising, after acknowledging his versatility, his powers of organization, his ability to govern men, his singular discernment both in political and personal affairs, to notice the limitations of his mind in certain directions. But in these lay also his strength. He was great not because he was before his time, but because he represented the feelings of his age as a leader of men. It is for this reason that it is necessary to lay more stress on the defect of his mind than on its many excellencies, since thereby one gains an insight into the thought of, not only his age, but of that of many succeeding generations. In the *Dialogues* written in 593 his almost unbounded credulity on certain points is revealed. That it is not of the *populus vult decipi decipiatur* type, but absolutely sincere, is evident. The title of the work in full is "The four books of Gregory the Pope concerning the Life and Miracles of Italian Fathers and concerning the Eternity of Souls." One book, the second, is devoted to the Life of St. Benedict, the earliest in existence. Part of the work records the miracles of holy men in Italy, some still alive, and few who had not been living within the last seventy years. The form in which the stories are related is that of a dialogue between Gregory and his beloved son, Peter the Deacon. The Pope, wearied with the secular business of his office, has retired sad of heart to a garden. There Peter joins him and hears his regrets that he cannot enjoy the life of those "Who with their whole minds have left this present world." Peter, one of

those useful dull men who ask the questions and raise the objections which provoke diffuse answers, says he knows of no such men, and if they wrought miracles, he never heard of them. Then Gregory promises to tell him what he himself had heard. In some instances, however, the extreme rusticity of his informants had prevented him using their exact words.

The unseen world is all around. A Jew sleeps in a temple of Apollo and hears demons exulting at the fact that a bishop named Andrew had treated his housekeeper with an innocent familiarity, which opened a prospect of worse things. Germanus, bishop of Capua, goes to take a course of baths; and in the natural vapours he beholds Paschasius, a deacon who was supposed to have died in the odour of sanctity. Valentinus, "a shifty person and addicted to levity," is buried in a church and dragged out shrieking by demons. The devil in the form of a black boy attracts a monk away from prayers, and is seen doing so by St. Benedict. Satan appears to the saint with flaming mouth and flashing eyes. He disguises himself as a doctor to get into a monastery, he throws down the wall and kills a young monk. Two gossiping nuns die impenitent and have to leave the church when the deacon cries, "If there be any that communicate not let him depart."[1]

The soul is seen to depart from the body. Bystanders see it ascend in the form of a dove. On the other hand, the soul of Theodoric, the great Ostrogothic King of Italy, is cast down in the sight of a hermit into the crater of Lipari. Miracles are constant, even the dead are raised to life. As is not uncommon in other medieval records these supernatural occurrences are excellently attested.

The reverence for the relics of the saints and martyrs, and the credulity with which they were regarded, had reached almost to its climax. Gregory certainly did nothing to check this impulse, which he doubtless considered to be highly salutary. He was accustomed to send filings from the chains of St. Peter and St. Paul in little crosses. "Let this," he writes to

[1] An interesting indication that the service then followed the Greek rather than the Latin type. There is nothing of the kind in the Mass.

Eulogius, "be continually applied to your eyes, for many miracles have been wrought by this same gift." A Lombard tried to cut open the golden casket containing these filings. An evil spirit compelled him forthwith to cut his own throat. When the Empress Constantina requested him to send the head or some part of the body of St. Paul to deposit in a church she was building, Gregory wrote explaining why this would be impossible. Even to approach the bodies of Saints Peter and Paul was to cause awful prodigies. His predecessor, Pelagius, had tried to change the silver covering over the shrine of St. Peter, and was deterred by a most alarming portent. When Gregory tried to make some improvement near the tomb of St. Paul a vision appeared to the custodian. When a man touched some bones near it, he died suddenly. When the tomb of St. Lawrence was inadvertently opened all those who saw his body died within ten days. A cloth laid near the bodies of the saints is sufficient to deposit in a church, and will probably work miracles. In the time of Leo the Great, the Pope cut one of these cloths and blood flowed. All stories of Greeks having moved the bones of saints from Rome must therefore be incredible. The Empress may perhaps obtain some filings from the chains of the Apostle; but Gregory can promise nothing. Sometimes the priest can get a speck off by the application of the file, but often the chains will allow nothing to be taken from them. Of course politeness compelled Gregory in refusing an Empress to exaggerate the wonder-working power of the relics; but he must have partly believed in it himself, and deaths following contact with objects so feared and venerated may doubtless have occurred.

It is refreshing to turn from the infirmities of so noble a mind as that of Gregory to the qualities really demanding admiration and to show how he laid the foundation of the great and often beneficial influence of his see.

Gregory has no hesitation in affirming the primacy of his see; but it is over other bishops and is purely spiritual; if he shows independence towards the secular power it is on account of its incapacity. The most glaring example of this was the

incompetency shown by the Byzantines in dealing with Italy. Romanus the Exarch could do nothing to hold the Lombards in check, and the provincials were not able either to fight or to negotiate terms. It was Gregory, if anyone, who saved Rome from capture by Agilulf, King of the Lombards and Ariulf, Duke of Spoleto. Maurice, the Emperor, was not unnaturally indignant at Gregory's interference and his negotiations; and a bitter correspondence ensued in 595 between him and the Roman bishop. In his letter to the Emperor, Gregory upbraids Maurice for calling him a fool, though he had certainly been one in enduring so much at the hands of the Lombards. He solemnly protests against the treatment he has received, and especially at the imperial displeasure being visited upon those who had defended Rome, namely, Gregory the Præfect and the general Castus. It was Gregory who was mainly responsible for the peace made between the Empire and the Lombards in 598, which lasted for two years. In the whole business the Pope is alike a peacemaker and a patriot, the real saviour of Italy.

With the See of Constantinople Gregory had even more trouble than with the Emperor. It must never be forgotten that Constantinople was New Rome, the Emperor, the Roman Emperor, the army, the Roman army; and the inhabitants called themselves Romans. To speak of the Greek Empire is entirely incorrect. It was as bishop of New Rome that the Constantinopolitan prelate claimed, so far as he dared to do so, equality with the Pope himself. Consequently when John the Faster, Bishop of Constantinople, took the title of Universal Bishop, it was naturally regarded as an insult to Old Rome.

The Church of Ravenna was also a cause of anxiety on account of the ambition of its bishops, who did not forget that their city was the seat of the Roman government. It turned on the use of the *pallium*. This was a vestment consisting of a long band of white wool ornamented with a varying number of black or purple crosses. In the East it is an episcopal vestment, the *omophorion*, but in the West it was a mark of honour,

granted only to the most distinguished ecclesiastics. It seems to have been customary in early times for the Pope to ask leave of the Emperor before he gave a pall. It was worn during the first part of the Mass up to the reading of the Gospel; but the Pope and the Bishop of Ravenna kept it on all the service. The Bishop in Gregory's time was named John, formerly a Roman priest and a friend of the Pope. However, he fell into "the sin of pride" and insisted on wearing the *pallium* even when he gave audience to the laity. The dispute continued even after his death, when his successor Marstinianus, a friend and disciple of Gregory, was unable to yield to the Pope on this point. Trifling as all this may seem, it is deserving of mention as illustrating the spirit of the age, in which outward symbols were considered of vital importance. Gregory was not the man to dispute about trifles; but in the question of the wearing of the *pallium* the whole principle of the respective rights of Rome and Ravenna was involved.

The great Pope showed his interest in the churches of every part of the world as Patriarch of the West, and as chief among the Patriarchs of the East. But Gregory was too great a man to desire rigid uniformity, or even to exact unquestioning obedience. The See of Peter has the right to correct offenders, and to restrain those who would encroach on the dominion of others; but "when no fault requires it to be otherwise, all bishops according to the principle of humility are equal." He desires "no honour which shall detract from the honour which belongs to my brethren." Toward the Eastern Patriarchates he takes a line of his own. Antioch had St. Peter as its bishop for seven years. Alexandria was the see of Mark, the disciple of Peter. Consequently these churches are Petrine and derive their authority from the Prince of the Apostles. This argument was of course a convenient weapon to use against the presumption of Constantinople.

Gregory's great achievement, the conversion of the English, is an important episode in the development of the Papal theory. Augustine was sent forth from his monastery on the Cælian Hill, as a general might have been sent to conquer and

organize a new province. The island is to be duly divided into two provinces with the old Roman cities of London and York as metropolitan sees. Augustine is to have jurisdiction for life and after him the senior metropolitan is to be the president. The authority of Augustine is strictly limited to Britain—he is to have no jurisdiction in Gaul—that belongs to his colleague Vigilius of Arles. Augustine is to choose all that is best from the rites of other churches for the newly planted church. Such was the tenor of the *Responsa* brought by the second mission to Augustine with Gregory's letters in answer to the report of the success of the Gospel in Kent. They are interesting not merely because they throw light on the conditions of the time and the mind of Gregory, but from the tone of authority which pervades them. The Pope issues his orders from the centre of Christendom as to how this church planted on its outskirts is to be organized, as an Emperor might have directed his lieutenant to divide and administer a province which had just been annexed. And it is worthy of attention how the Roman spirit pervades Gregory's direction. He desires as little change as possible provided the possession of what has been acquired is made sure. Even, according to his letters, the customs of the people and their very religious festivals are to be as little altered as possible consistently with the maintenance of pure Christianity. The new church was also thoroughly medieval alike in the papal authority with which it was established and the monastic tone by which it was pervaded. It was from the monasteries of Canterbury that the light of truth was expected to spread throughout the island.

What has been written hitherto may be open to the objection that Gregory represents a pope of a totally exceptional type, and that what is described as happening under him occurred in no other pontificate. Of course this criticism is in a sense valid, nevertheless it is impossible that all should have originated with him and have collapsed at his death. The fact is whenever an opportunity is afforded of seeing the ancient papal organization at work the same sort of administration is revealed. Siricius, in the fourth century, and Leo, in the fifth,

transact business on lines somewhat similar to those of Gregory in the sixth; and even in days of anarchy and confusion the Roman Church never lost sight of the Christianity of the world. Gregory inherited and transmitted a tradition as to the position and duties of the papal chair and of the Church of Rome in general, and it will be abundantly clear that no amount of civil and ecclesiastical confusion in the City was able finally to interrupt it. No sooner was order restored than the authority of Rome revived and flourished once more. For no individual, however transcendent his gifts, can be greater than an institution with a continuous tradition. And the Papacy was more powerful than any of the few popes of commanding genius who presided over it. Leo I, Gregory II, Gregory III, Nicholas I, Gregory VII, and Innocent III left their marks indelible in history; but they are after all but names in the story of the great priesthood, which claimed and still claims supremacy over the Christian conscience throughout the world. In the pontificate of Gregory I is seen the system working, thanks to his sanctity and force of character, under unusually favourable conditions.

The Church of Rome was moreover thoroughly conversant with the art of presenting the Christian religion as an appeal to men's imagination. Pope Pelagius died of the plague Feb. 8th, 590, and the people with one voice acclaimed Gregory the Deacon as fitted for the papacy. Yet nothing finally could be done till the choice of the Romans had been confirmed at Constantinople. But in the meantime the plague raged and the people dropped dead, till Gregory in a sermon in St. John Lateran, the Cathedral of Rome, announced his intention of assembling the people in a seven-fold litany to entreat the mercy of God. The order of the procession is indicated in a statement which shows the seven regions and the seven-fold division of the Roman people, "Let the clergy set out from the Church of SS. Cosmas and Damian with the priests of the First region," etc. Perhaps, however, the arrangement will be clearer in the form of a table.

DIVISION	STARTING PLACE	REGION
1. Clergy	*SS. Cosmas and Damian	Sixth
2. Abbots and their monks	SS. Gervasius and Protasius	Fourth
3. Abbesses and nuns	*SS. Marcellinus and Peter	First
4. Children	*SS. John and Paul	Second
5. Laymen	*St. Stephen, the Protomartyr	Seventh
6. Widows	St. Euphemia	Fifth
7. Married women	*St. Clement the Martyr	Third

"Let us go forth," says Gregory, "from each of the churches with prayers and tears; let us meet together at the Basilica of the Blessed Mary, Ever Virgin, Mother of Our Lord God Jesus Christ; and let us there persevere in supplications to the Lord, with weeping and groaning, that we may be deemed worthy to receive pardon for our sins."

It is easy to see from this address that processions in Rome were already organized and imposing, and though it cannot be proved what Gregory did for the ritual observances of the Church, it is evident that they were in his time designed to impress not only the Romans but those who visited the city. In later days the baptismal office, as administered by the Pope in St. John Lateran, must have been a spectacle appealing to the religious emotions which no one could have witnessed unmoved. This contributed greatly to the influence of the Roman Church and to the authority of its clergy, notably of its Supreme Pontiff.

The Great Baptismal ceremony was, however, but occasional, at rare intervals throughout the Christian year. There was, however, one service which every Christian witnessed constantly, so fraught with mystery, so solemn, so awful, that it is not too much to assert that it was the pivot of the religion of the Middle Ages. The Founder of the Church had on the night of his betrayal instituted a feast commemorative of his Death and had called the Bread His Body, and the Wine His Blood. From the dawn of Christianity, the Breaking of Bread, the Eucharist, or as it was later termed in the West the "Mass" became the central act of worship. At first, perhaps a supper or common meal, it soon became a service with an increasing

*The Saints are mentioned in the Canon of the Mass.

tendency to assume a certain definite form. As the church developed, the Liturgy, for so the service was termed, grew in the impressive manner in which it was performed, and in the splendour of its ritual. It was regarded with increasing awe; for, whereas all Christians had at first partaken of it regularly, it gradually became customary only to do so on rare occasions, and to attend without communicating. The essentials of the primitive service seem to have been prayers, the reading of scriptures and exhortation. When the preliminary exercises were finished the deacon called on all who were undergoing penance or were not baptized to retire. The doors were then closed and the fully initiated Christian men and women celebrated the death of Christ upon the Cross, before which he had instituted the Supper. Bread and wine were solemnly offered by the "president" of the assembly and the words of institution were repeated. Then the people partook of the Sacred Elements and the service was at an end. In the West the conclusion was the sentence *Ite missa est*, and from this dismissal of the congregation is probably derived the term *missa* or mass.

The great prayer of Offering—in Greek the *Anaphora*, offering up—was the culmination of the Eucharistic ceremony; and in the West it tended to become the same everywhere and to follow the prayer used by the Roman Church. The Mass varied in its opening details in every country of the West, even in many dioceses, but the Canon, as it was called from its unchanging character, became exclusively that of the Roman Church. And yet assuredly it is not the most ancient form in which the service was conducted, even in Rome, where it almost certainly was said in Greek. At the same time it was in the days of Gregory so old and regarded with so much veneration that it is wonderingly recorded that this great Pope made two alterations which seem truly unimportant but were yet regarded as of great significance:

(1) He added to the prayer *Hanc igitur* the words "And mayest thou dispose our ways in Thy peace, and deliver us from eternal damnation, and order us to be numbered in the flock of thine elect."

(2) He ordered the Lord's Prayer to be said immediately after the Canon, "Because it was the custom of the Apostles to say this very prayer alone at the consecration of the Host; and it seemed to me very incongruous that we should say over the Oblation the Canon composed by a scholastic and not say over His Body and Blood the prayer composed by the Redeemer Himself."

As the exact words of the Canon of the Roman Mass are not familiar to many, a translation of this noble prayer is given in full without the addition of the rubrics which direct the actions of the ministering priest, though these are regarded as of great importance.

CANON OF THE MASS

Therefore, O most merciful Father, we humbly pray thee, through Jesus Christ thy Son our Lord, and entreat thee to accept and bless these gifts, these presents, these holy unspotted sacrifices, which we offer to thee, in the first place, on behalf of the holy Catholic Church, which do thou vouchsafe to keep in peace, to guard, to unite, and to govern, throughout the whole world; together with thy servants our Pope N. and our Bishop N. [and our King N.] and all who are orthodox, and who hold the catholic and apostolic faith.

Remember, O Lord, thy servants and thy handmaidens N. and N. and all here present, whose faith is approved, and whose devotion is known to thee; on behalf of whom we offer unto thee [or who offer unto thee] this sacrifice of praise, for themselves and for all pertaining to them, for the redemption of their souls, for the hope of their own salvation and security, and who are paying their vows unto thee, the eternal, living, and true God.

In communion with and reverencing the memory, in the first place, of the glorious and ever-virgin Mary, mother of our God and Lord Jesus Christ; as also of thy blessed apostles and martyrs—Peter, Paul, Andrew, James, John, Thomas, James, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon, and Thaddæus, Linus, Cletus, Clement, Sixtus, Cornelius, Cyprian, Laurence, Chrysogonus, John and Paul, Cosmas and Damian, and of all thy saints; through whose merits and prayers do thou grant that in all things we may be defended by the aid of thy protection. Through the same Christ our Lord. Amen.

We beseech thee, therefore, O Lord, graciously to accept this oblation of our services, and of thy whole family, and to dispose our days in thy peace, bidding us to be delivered from eternal damnation, and to be numbered among the flock of thine elect. Through Christ our Lord. Amen.

Which oblation, we beseech thee, O Almighty, that thou wouldest

vouchsafe in all respects to bless, approve, ratify, and make reasonable and acceptable, that it may become to us the body and the blood of thy most dearly beloved Son our Lord Jesus Christ.

Who on the day before he suffered took bread into his holy and adorable hands, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, to thee, O God, his Almighty Father, gave thanks to thee, blessed it, brake it, And gave it to his disciples, saying, Take, and eat ye all of this. For this is My Body.

Likewise, after supper, taking this most excellent chalice into his holy and adorable hands, and giving thanks to thee, he blessed it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take and drink ye all of this, for this is the cup of My Blood of the new and everlasting testament, the mystery of faith, which shall be shed for you and for many for the remission of sins.

As oft as ye shall do these things, ye shall do them in remembrance of me.

Wherefore also, O Lord, we thy servants, together with thy holy people, calling to mind both the blessed passion of the same Christ, thy Son, our Lord God, and also his resurrection from the dead, together with his glorious ascension into heaven, offer to thy most excellent majesty of thy gifts and bounties, a pure offering, a holy offering, a spotless offering, the holy bread of eternal life, and the chalice of everlasting salvation. Upon which do thou vouchsafe to look with a favourable and gracious countenance, and to accept them as thou didst vouchsafe to accept the gifts of thy righteous servant Abel, the sacrifice of our patriarch Abraham, and the holy sacrifice, the pure oblation, which thy high priest Melchisedech offered unto thee.

We humbly beseech thee, Almighty God, command these (gifts) to be borne by the hands of thy holy angel to thy Altar on High, in the presence of thy divine majesty, that as many of us as shall by partaking at this Altar receive the most sacred body and blood of thy Son, may be fulfilled with all heavenly benediction and grace, through the same Christ our Lord. Amen.

Remember also, O Lord (the souls of) thy servants and handmaidens N. and N., who have gone before us with the sign of faith, and sleep the sleep of peace; to them, O Lord, and to all who rest in Christ, we pray thee that thou wouldest grant a place of refreshment, light and peace. Through the same Christ our Lord. Amen.

To us, also, thy sinful servants, who hope in the multitude of thy mercies, vouchsafe to grant some part and fellowship with thy holy apostles and martyrs, with John, Stephen, Matthias, Barnabas, Ignatius, Alexander, Marcellinus, Peter, Felicitas, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucy, Agnes, Cæcilia, Anastasia, and with all thy Saints, into whose company do thou admit us, we beseech thee, not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences. Through Christ our Lord.

By whom, O Lord, thou ever createst, sanctifiest, quickenest, blessest, and bestowest upon us all these good things.

Through him, and with him, and in him, all honour and glory are unto thee, God the Father Almighty, in the unity of the Holy Ghost. For ever and ever. Amen.

To this Gregory added:

Let us pray. Admonished by saving precepts, and directed by divine institution, we are bold to say,
(The Lord's Prayer)

AUTHORITIES

The authority for the life of St. Benedict is the *Vita* by Gregory the Great written about 594. A useful summary of the *Rule* is to be found in Mirbt s *Quellen*, p. 71. The critical text by E. Woelflin (1895) has been translated in Thatcher and McNeal, *Source Book for Mediæval History*, pp. 432–485. The latest English translation is by Hunter Blair (Fort Augustus, 1906). Good accounts of Benedict are to be found in Milman's *Latin Christianity*, Bk. II, Ch. VI and in Hodgkin's *Italy and her Invaders*, Vol. IV, Ch. XVI. See also Montalembert, *Monks of the West* (E. T.); Grisar, *History of Rome and the Popes* (E. T.), Vol. III, pp. 18 ff.

The writings of Gregory the Great are in Migne, *Pat Lat.*, Vols. 75–79. Those most valuable for his biography are his *Letters* in fourteen books and the *Dialogues*. *Selected Epistles*, translated by J. Barmby, appeared in the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, second series, Vols. XII and XIII; the old translation of the *Dialogues* was reëdited by E. G. Gardner in 1911. The chief contemporary authorities are Gregory of Tours (d. *circa* 594) and the *Liber Pontificalis*, the record of each Pope. The official Life by Paul the Deacon was written by order of John VIII (872–882). The Lombard, John the Deacon, wrote the short *Life* a century earlier, as did also Bede, *Hist. Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, Bk. II.

Milman, *History of Latin Christianity*, Bk. II, Ch. VII and Bk. IV. 3; Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, Vol. V, Ch. VII. The two volumes of F. Homes Dudden, *Gregory the Great, His Place in History and Thought*, are most exhaustive as is also Sir H. Howorth's *Gregory the Great.*

For the difficult study of the Roman 'Canon' see Duchesne, *Christian Worship, Its Origin and Evolution*, E. T., pp. 176 ff. Srawley, *Early History of the Liturgy*, Ch. VIII. Most important is the Article 'Canon' by Adrian Fortescue, *Catholic Encyc.*, Vol. III, pp. 255–267. According to the *Liber Pontificalis* Gregory added to the prayer *Hanc Igitur*, "And mayest thou dispose our days in thy peace, and may we be delivered from eternal damnation, and be numbered with thy flock." John the Deacon is the authority for the addition of the Lord's Prayer after the Canon. See F. Homes Dudden, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

CHAPTER II

THE CHURCH AND THE EMPIRE

The Popes dependent on Constantinople — Importance of period — Honorius I — Mohammed — Divisions in Eastern Church — Monophysitism — Constans II — Leo the Isaurian — Images — Hostility to Image Worship — Iconoclasm — The Franks — Progress of the Lombards — Arguments for the Temporal Power — The conversion and donation of Constantine — Donation a forgery — Rise of the Frankish Kingdom — The House of Arnulf — A series of able popes — Pippin crowned — End of the Exarchate — Pope Stephen II crosses the Alps — Letter from St. Peter — Charles the Great — Barbarism in Rome — Donation of Pippin confirmed — Hadrian I — The Papal Court — Leo III attacked in Rome — Charles acts as judge — Leo III declares his innocence — Charles crowned emperor — Unity of the Empire — The Papacy and the Empire.

The Roman Church after Gregory the Great's death sank back into humble dependence on the court of Constantinople, from which it arose as the founder of the Empire of the West. For more than a century the popes were nominees of the Emperor, or of the Exarchs of Ravenna, elected it is true by the Romans, but having to obtain the imperial permission to ascend the chair of Peter. Twenty-four popes were made between A.D. 604 and 708, some occupying the see but a few months. Often a year and more intervened between the death of a pope and the accession of his successor. Hardly a single name on the list arrests our attention, and, of the two who reigned more than a very few years, one fell into suspicion of heresy, and the other died confessing the orthodox faith in exile. The facts about nearly all these seventh century pontiffs are obscure and as a rule the sole authority is the *Liber Pontificalis*.

Yet if the history is obscure, the period is important. It was one of much expansion in the West, where the prestige of the Roman See was continually on the increase. One is amazed at hearing on the one side of the misery and squalor of the city, and on the other of the splendour of the new churches which were rising upon every side. No danger of travel could

keep pilgrims from the shrine of St. Peter, and no calamities could lower the respect in which the popes continued to be held. Slowly but surely the foundations of the papal supremacy in the West were being laid. In the East suddenly, when the Christian empire of Rome was enjoying a complete triumph over Zoroastrian Persia, a storm cloud broke in Arabia, which has darkened the countries then subject to the Cæsars ever since. The rise of Islam in the deserts of Arabia, its terrific inrush into the civilized world, its repulse in the West, and the revival of the spirit of the Eastern Empire to stem the tide, belong to the period covered by the seventh and eighth centuries. Finally, the last phases of the Monophysite question, Monotheletism and Iconoclasm, precipitated the division of Christendom.

To enumerate the popes of the seventh century is an unprofitable task and only the more prominent deserve even a passing attention. The memory of Gregory immediately after his death was not held in the respect which one might expect. In his profuse charity he was considered to have diminished the patrimony of the Church. Only the miracle of a vision witnessed by his biographer, the deacon Peter, joined to the unpopularity of his successor Sabinian, saved his reputation. Of the four popes during the next nineteen years there is nothing noteworthy, except that Boniface III obtained from Phocas an acknowledgment of the primacy of the See of Rome, and the same Emperor granted to Boniface IV the use of the famous temple of the Pantheon, which was converted into a church in honour of the Virgin and all the martyrs. In A.D. 625 Honorius was made pope and reigned till 638, a munificent pontiff, with statesmanlike ability, but unfortunate in leaving behind him a reputation of doubtful orthodoxy.

Honorius followed up the work of Gregory by attending to the Christian mission to the Teutonic races of Britain, sending the bishop Birinus to the West Saxons, the most pagan (*paganissimos*), according to Bede, of all the tribes. The Pope can hardly have realized the subsequent importance of the Anglo-Saxon peoples to the Papacy. Nevertheless he deserves

the credit of promoting their conversion. The England, which the Church called to a sense of national unity, was destined to be conspicuous for its devotion to the Roman See. Not only did the island show its filial admiration to the popes by zealously adopting Roman culture and upholding the claims of Peter against all opposition at home, and sending kings and princes to the holy places of the City; it also poured forth a stream of missionaries to conquer the barbarians of northern Europe for the Mother Church. Following in the wake of the Irish monks, English preachers of the Gospel were to be found in every country, and in every instance as advocates of all for which the Roman Church then stood.

Honorius spared no expense in building and decorating churches, thereby rendering Rome attractive to visitors from all parts of the world. Evidently conditions were improving in his days and Rome was enjoying a season of comparative prosperity. This Pope covered the central door leading to the basilica of St. Peter's with plates of silver nine hundred and seventy pounds in weight, and placed two great candelabra before the shrine. He also built and restored many churches, notably that of St. Adriana, martyr of Nicomedia, into which, according to Gregorovius, he converted the ancient Boule or Senate House. In a poem in his honour Honorius is called the good bishop, the duke of the people (*bonus Antistes, Dux plebis*).

But in the days in which Honorius was building and repairing churches in Rome the world was being threatened with a catastrophe, rumours of which, probably, only reached the city. Mohammed fled from Mecca to Medina in A.D. 622, three years before the accession of Honorius as Pope; and before his death, Omar had taken Damascus and Jerusalem. By A.D. 650 Persia, the one civilized power in the world, except Rome, was overrun; Egypt, the peculiar province of the Emperor since the days of Augustus, became the property of the successors of Mohammed. It seemed as though the new faith would overwhelm the Christian world.

The surprising thing was the feebleness of the resistance

of the Christians, many of whom surrendered without striking a blow. True the provincials were disarmed; but the Roman armies had been uniformly successful under Heraclius, the Emperor who had conquered Persia; and in former days many cities on the Eastern frontier had put up a brave defence against invasion. But no enthusiasm for the Empire was shown when the armies of Islam appeared, and apparently little for the Christian cause. Egypt and Syria were irrevocably lost almost without a decisive battle.

An explanation may be found in the religious condition of the Roman world. The condemnation of Nestorius had alienated a vast body of Christians and forced them to take refuge outside the Empire. The Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451) which condemned Eutyches had alienated Egypt. The problem of maintaining the union of the Empire was a religious one, and the government of Constantinople found a formidable obstacle in the Chalcedonian definition, which had attempted to settle once and for all the relation of the Godhead and the Manhood in the Person of Christ. The Early Church was for a long time content with insisting on the reality of the human body of the Lord, without entering into the difficult question of the relation of the divine and human natures in His Person. When the controversy became acute in the fifth century the orthodox doctrine was settled by a compromise between two divergent views. The Eastern Church, and especially Alexandria, adhered to the teaching that our Lord was entirely divine with a human body, the Western fathers agreed with those of Antioch in maintaining that in Christ there were two natures, a human and a divine. Both views, if logically carried to a conclusion, produced a heresy; the Alexandrian was in danger of denying that Christ had any real manhood at all; the Antiochene of maintaining that in Christ there were two distinct personalities, Man and God. Hence arose two opposite heresies, that of Eutyches, which was condemned in A.D. 451 by the Council of Chalcedon, and that of Nestorius, which had previously been repudiated by the Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431. The Council of Chalcedon had been guided in this very

technical controversy by an explanation of the difficulty by Pope Leo the Great, in a document known as the *Tome*, which showed that the human and divine natures co-existed in our Lord's single Person, and that he manifested each on different occasions. For example, "He suffered as Man, and rose from the dead as God." The Popes regarded Leo's settlement as a great achievement and fiercely resented any attempt to set it aside. The Eastern Church, on the other hand, were only partially satisfied and demanded a fuller explanation of the mystery. The Alexandrians, moreover, regarded the proceedings of Chalcedon which condemned their bishop Dioscorus as an insult to St. Cyril, their most honoured bishop who had been the means of bringing about the refutation of Nestorius. Thus from the middle of the fifth century the East had been profoundly divided on this abstruse question.

To understand the importance of this it must always be borne in mind that the Byzantine system was already beginning to be entirely bound up with orthodoxy. Already the Emperor was the consecrated divine representative of the true Faith of the Church, and the function of the Patriarch of Constantinople was to see that he never deviated a hair's breadth from it. The consequence was that until the dogma could be absolutely and finally settled there could be no unity. The great obstacle was the Chalcedonian formula, and, above all, the *Tome* of Leo. The price the Egyptians and Syrians demanded before entering into full communion with Constantinople was that these should be modified. This was recognized in A.D. 478 by the Emperor Zeno and the patriarch Acacius, who put forward the Henoticon or "Scheme of Union." It was the clue to the policy of Justinian who forced Pope Vigilius to agree to the condemnation of the Three Chapters, extracts from the works of Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, and Ibas of Edessa, at the Fifth Council in A.D. 553. And now that the Moslem power was threatening the Christian world, and the perverse nationalism of the Coptic church of Alexandria was drawing them away from what they called the Melchites (or royal party) of Constantinople, the Emperor

Heraclius suggested with the concurrence of his Patriarch Sergius a further compromise. They proposed that the Monophysite controversy should be laid forever to rest by a confession that whilst Christ had two natures, the human and the divine, he had but one *drastic energy*, or to put it into plainer words, One Will; hence the name Monothelite was given to the controversy which ensued; and the document which made the suggestion was called the *Ecthesis*.

In every instance the Monophysites were partially appeased by the concessions offered, and the peace of the East might have been assured for the opposition of the Roman See and its partisans in Constantinople. It is to be observed that the Emperor never issued any proposal without the consent of the Patriarch, and generally at his suggestion.

Whenever the Empire was strong the Papacy was forced to submit, notably by Justinian, who had dragged Pope Vigilius to Constantinople, and, contrary to the wishes of the Western Church, compelled him to assent to the condemnation of the Three Chapters. Indeed half a century later Gregory the Great had difficulty in settling a schism in Istria caused by the disgust of the Church there at the weak compliance of Vigilius. The proposal of Heraclius aroused no opposition at first; and Pope Honorius accepted the compromise of Monothelitism, perhaps from liberality, or loyalty to the wishes of the Emperor, probably because he did not clearly comprehend the issue. But the Papacy did not long hesitate which side to take; and by A.D. 642 Theodorus II had excommunicated Pyrrhus the Patriarch, the Pope using ink into which he placed a drop of the Blood of Christ consecrated in the Eucharist, to sign the document.

Constans II, who soon succeeded Heraclius, was a man of enterprise and vigour who maintained the Empire in times of unusual difficulty. He left an evil reputation, partly because of his stern and unamiable character, but mainly due to the stigma of unorthodoxy. Extremely unpopular with his subjects at Constantinople, who believed him to be the murderer of his brother, Constans was to be found in all parts of his do-

minions; and was the last of the Byzantine emperors to visit Rome, which he despoiled of many of its remaining objects of value. He was specially detested for his severe treatment of Pope Martin I, whom he summoned to Constantinople and finally exiled to Cherson, where he died a martyr for his zeal for orthodoxy in A.D. 655. The Pope had formally condemned not only the *Ecthesis* of Heraclius but also the *Type* of Constans, a later document more impartially worded than the *Ecthesis*, commanding all dispute about the Two Wills to cease.

The exile and death of Martin revealed to the popes their impotence to withstand the court of Constantinople, and even after the death of Constans, when his son Constantine Pogonatus (the Bearded) pronounced in favour of orthodoxy and allowed Monothelitism to be condemned by the Sixth General Council of A.D. 680, the Papacy had still to feel its dependence. Ten years later the Council "in Trullo" (A.D. 690) ordained, with complete disregard to the wishes of Rome, its famous canons, which have since governed the Greek Church.

This period was marked by the steady decay of the Roman Empire in Italy. The popes are mere names, many were Greeks or Syrians, but all seem to have maintained the dignity of the Roman See to the best of their power. One, Constantine (708–715), visited Constantinople and was treated with due honour. He was succeeded by Gregory II; and shortly afterwards Leo, the Isaurian, ascended the imperial throne. Rome was now destined to enjoy a series of great Popes, and Constantinople one of able and energetic Emperors.

It is not easy to realize how nearly Christian civilization was to perishing in both East and West between A.D. 717 and 732, but neither Leo, the deliverer of Constantinople, nor Charles Martel, the saviour of Gaul, have won a place among the champions of the Cross, one being tainted with heresy, and the other with laying unholy hands on the property of the Church. The phenomenal success of Islam for a time paralyzed Christendom, which, however, recovered and long fought the new fanaticism on equal terms. Within fifty years of Mohammed's flight to Medina the armies of the Crescent threat-

ened Constantinople and the Caliph Moawiya was only repulsed by the newly invented Greek fire. A generation later Leo the Isaurian again delivered the city after a long siege by Moslemah. Africa and Spain had already fallen under the Muslim yoke; and in A.D. 732 Charles Martel only just stayed the tide at the decisive battle of Tours. With Leo's victory over Moslemah a new spirit seemed to animate Byzantium. The emperors were for generations men of ability, the people were ruled under just and impartial laws, the finances were well administered and the Roman army (for so it was called) reverted to its best traditions and not only held the infidel at bay, but drove him to acknowledge its superiority. Good as were the armies of the Caliphs in the eighth and following centuries, that of the Cæsars of Byzantium was confessedly the best in the world.

But the victorious armies of Leo fell under the influence of their enemies, Mohammedan and Jewish, and winced under the taunt that they were idolaters. For generations images or pictures which the early Christian had regarded with horror had multiplied in the churches and were looked upon with superstitious reverence and even worshipped almost as separate deities. Ten years after his succession Leo and his soldiers sought to remove the reproach and to return to the practice of the primitive faith.

The Christian Church had never shared in the Jewish horror of the representation in Art of holy things or even of the holiest Persons. From the earliest day of the Catacombs, the Roman Christians decorated the resting places of their dead with figures, borrowed from the conventional art of the time, yet given a graceful symbolism of their own. The Apollo *Kriophorus* became Christ bearing home the lost sheep; salvation by baptism was typified by the Ark and Jonah in pictures, borrowed, it may be, from representations of heathen origin; the fish recalled the name of Jesus, as Christ, Son of God and Saviour. Nay, amid the flowers and fruit with which the walls were decorated there were to be seen children sporting (*amoretti*), the little cupids of the art of the day. In process of time,

with the honour of the martyrs, the visible tokens of their existence in the form of relics were treasured by the faithful, and after the discovery of the Holy Places men were reminded constantly of the reality of the events which had brought salvation to the world. As pagans crowded into the Church efforts were made to instruct the converts, many unable to read, in Christian verities by pictures, and a distinctly Christian art developed. The saints, the blessed Virgin, our Lord in human form, even God himself, began to be represented so as to appeal to human eyes. Together with relics and holy places these pictures were regarded with superstitious awe and were adored with a devotion hardly distinguishable from that paid to the Godhead. It may even be said that, to the ignorant, visible objects were taking the place of Him, whom philosophy was constantly withdrawing more and more from the range of human understanding. A Christian art was developing; but art, as such, was not producing superstitious reverence for the objects perceived. As with a child who devotes herself to some battered doll to the neglect of the costliest product of the toy shop, so the ignorant, whether pagan or Christian, worships not the supreme efforts of Phidias or Raphael, but some shapeless idol, some smoke-begrimed picture as inherent with peculiar sanctity, powerful to work miracles and to answer prayer.

The Roman army, stung by the taunts of their Mohammedan enemies, and composed of sterner stuff than the inhabitants of the great cities and the denizens of the innumerable monasteries, must have felt the reproach that they were idolaters acutely. The soldier seems to have been animated by a species of Protestantism, for it is remarkable that all the Iconoclast emperors were successful warriors, a fact not denied by their bitterest opponents. In addition to this there was still the shadow of the Monophysite controversy. Image worship was specially distasteful to the upholders of one nature of Christ. According to the theology of Cyril, and indeed all the orthodox, the Word assumed not the nature of an individual, but human nature. He did not become a man but

took upon himself Manhood. Consequently he could not be circumscribed in personality; and the Monophysite declared it heresy to represent him as a man. To portray Christ was therefore a corruption of the Faith. It appears, moreover, that the cultus of the Virgin and saints had developed very rapidly since the severance of the Monophysites from the Church. Even the reverence for the Virgin was comparatively recent. There is little trace of it in the Gospels or in the writings of the earlier fathers; and in the Nestorian and Eutychian controversies of the fifth century, the chief argument against the refusal to apply to her the favourite title *Theotokos* was, not that to withhold it was an insult to her, but that it was a denial of the true Incarnation of the Word. To abolish the adoration of the holy images and all that it connoted was not merely to remove the reproach of idolatry from Christianity, but also to take a step towards the reconciliation of the Monophysites to the Orthodox Church, and therefore to raise up a formidable Christian people enthusiastic for Church and Empire in the heart of Islam. These then were some of the causes of the policy of Leo the Isaurian, when he put forward the edict against the worship of images or pictures (called indifferently *icons*).

However laudable the motives of Leo may have been, the attempt to put down the practice of adoring the sacred images was certain to arouse a storm. Furious controversies, resulting in bloodshed, had been provoked by difference of language, often too technical to be intelligible save to professed theologians. But the destruction of images and pictures appealed to the common people. Every monk who found a picture in his cell a stimulus to devotion; every priest who tried to impress on his flock a scriptural truth, or as was more probable, the merits of a local saint; every invalid who looked for help from a wonder-working picture; every devout woman, who relied for protection on the portrait of her favourite saint,—all inevitably united to resist the decrees. But when the imperial order reached the West, where there were no Monophysites, and the danger from Islam was less pressing, and

when even the sacred and venerable image of St. Peter was in danger of being removed from Rome, the people rose in frenzy against the Emperor, especially as it was becoming increasingly evident that there was no help to be looked for against the Lombards. Gregory II, whose pontificate of fifteen years was not unworthy of his more famous namesake, persisted in urging loyalty to the Emperor, but at the same time was vigorous in his protests against the impiety of Leo. In a letter of amazing ignorance, at any rate of Scripture, the Pope is credited with defying Leo, comparing him to the impious Uzziah who was punished for destroying the Brazen Serpent! The letter is, however, of doubtful genuineness, nor is it easy to credit it as emanating from such a Pope as Gregory II. In another letter the Pope lays down a doctrine of separation of the functions of Church and State, which must have sounded strange to the court of Byzantium, and to the Emperor who had declared himself Emperor and Bishop. The impending severance between Eastern and Western ideals is seen in Gregory's repudiation of the Cæsaro-papalism of Leo, by maintaining that the priesthood was independent of the secular Christian ruler, although this had centuries before been the attitude of Ambrose in Italy, and his contemporary Martin in Gaul.

Leo had arrayed against him the most powerful religious elements in the world, the Roman Church, the monks, the women, and all the ignorant and superstitious. But he was not a man to be daunted; and his son, Constantine, surnamed Copronymus — a disgusting name taken from a filthy story of his baptism as an infant — was more determined, and in A.D. 754, supported by the Patriarch of Constantinople, he held a council which entirely forbade the use of images in worship. Martyrs were not wanting to attest their faith in the sacred icons.

Just when the relations between Papacy were most strained, it became evident that the Popes must seek a more efficient ally than the Cæsar at Byzantium. They found one in a new Frankish dynasty, which they, or their faithful friend and missionary, St. Boniface, were active in promoting. The step

was rendered necessary by the rapid success of the Lombards in Italy, and also by the confiscation of the papal estates in Sicily by Leo as a punishment for Gregory II's obstinacy about the images. This was a most important step towards the See of Rome becoming a sovereign state. In the whole course of the relations between the Roman Church and the Byzantine Emperors the status of the Pope was always that of a subject, who could be treated exactly like the Patriarch of Constantinople, be deposed, or, if necessary, be haled to the court, as was Martin I, to answer for the contumacy, or be deprived of his estates like any other disobedient subject. But if the Patriarch was made to feel his dependence on the Emperor, he was at least protected by the government and maintained in opulence and splendour, whereas the Pope had to do the best he could to defend himself against the aggressions of the enemies of Rome and to maintain his position without any assistance. Under such circumstances a position of dependency was intolerable, and the Papacy had to seek aid elsewhere. Amid these difficulties the Temporal Power originated, and the theories connected with it took an abiding hold on all future Popes. From the middle of the eighth century to the present time the object of the Roman church has been to secure independence of any secular control in Italy, and to be supported by some strong power outside the limits of the peninsula.

The Lombards appeared to be on the high road towards the establishment of a solidly united kingdom of Italy. All that stood in their way were Ravenna and Rome. With the capture of these cities their hegemony was secure. It was no longer, as it had been in the days of Gregory the Great, that Rome was threatened by barbarian hordes of heretics. The Lombards had now been settled for many generations in Italy and had become devout sons of the Church. During the thirty-two years' reign of their great king Liutprand, the fatal effects of their reverence for the Roman see became increasingly apparent. Though he advanced to the very gates of the City, he shrank before the majestic presence of Gregory II and actually "re-

stored" to the Pope the cities he had taken from the Empire. The word "restored" is full of significance, because it implied a new claim on the part of the Popes, who, when they lost their vast estates in Sicily, began to demand the imperial territories in Italy. Already therefore the way was being prepared for the foundation of the States of the Church and the Temporal Power.

The acquisition of territory by the Papacy began when Liutprand presented Gregory II with Sutri, which he had taken from the Empire, and the Roman records describe the gift as "a restitution" (*restituit*). Further donations of territory were made by this generous monarch, and were augmented by the liberality of the Emperors. The more evident it became that the Byzantine government was unable to hold its Italian provinces, and that these were in danger of falling into the hands of the Lombards, the stronger grew the conviction that the legitimate heirship to the remaining fragments of the Roman dominion in Italy belonged to the See of Rome. Hence the insistence of the Popes that whatever they acquired from the Lombards was, not a benefaction, but a restitution, and in the negotiations between the Papacy and their kings the words "*restituere propria propriis*" occur.

But though compelled by the stern logic of facts to lay claim to a temporal dominion in Italy in order to secure their position, the Popes were desirous of producing documentary evidence to show that they were entitled to it as well as to the large spiritual prerogatives which they desired for themselves. The story of the means employed is historically important as revealing the beliefs of the age, and the anxiety of the Papacy for a legal status.

Around the name of Constantine, the first Christian Emperor, there grew a vast mass of legendary matter connected with his relation to the church of Rome, notably the story of his conversion and baptism by Pope Sylvester and his donation of jurisdiction over the Western world to the same Pope. The conversion legend is the earlier by centuries and takes form in a variety of different versions, all abounding in ana-

chronisms and filled with improbabilities. It first appears in a sermon by James, Monophysite bishop of Sarug in Mesopotamia, preached about A.D. 473, together with the story of Constantine's leprosy as a cure for which a bath in the blood of infants was prescribed. The Emperor was induced by his servants to try the effect of baptism. Accordingly the bishop (not named) anointed Constantine, and thereby cured him of his leprosy; but a fire burned over the water so that he could not enter till he had put off his royal crown. In Armenia the legend seems to have been affected by the similar story about the conversion of Tiridates by Gregory the Illuminator. Here, however, the name of Sylvester appears; and Constantine is said to have felt compunction owing to the lamentation of the mothers whose children he had proposed to slay for his bath in blood. By the end of the fifth century the legend appears to have reached Rome, and to have been incorporated in the traditions of the Church.

To this was subsequently attached the famous *Donation*, which is a fictitious legal document incorporated with the fanciful legend of the *Conversion*. It probably belongs to the eighth century and was received as gospel throughout the Middle Ages both by the defenders and by the opponents of the papal autocracy. Its importance is not to be measured by its lack of genuineness, for few true tales have exercised so potent an influence on subsequent history.

Constantine addresses Sylvester, all bishops of the church, and the clergy of Rome. He describes himself as the conqueror of the Alemanni, Goths, Germans, Britons, and even of the Huns who had not in his time made their appearance in Europe. The Emperor proceeds to declare the faith he had received from the Pope at his baptism in which the controversies of the fifth century are carefully anticipated in words reminiscent of Leo's famous Tome of A.D. 449. Next Constantine relates how the tears of their mothers induced him to abandon trying to bathe in the blood of children as a cure for leprosy; and that Peter and Paul had appeared to him by night, and had told him to fetch Sylvester, who was hidden in a cave

on Mount Serapte (Soracte?) on account of the persecution and he would baptize him and heal his leprosy. When Sylvester appeared Constantine asked him, "Who were these gods Peter and Paul?" Thereupon Sylvester ordered his deacon to show him their pictures and the Emperor confessed to all his "satraps" that they were the men who had appeared to him in his dream.

After this Constantine prepared for baptism. In his palace of the Lateran he did penance for his former sins in a hair shirt (*uno cilicio*). Then by imposition of the hands of the clergy he was admitted to the presence of the pontiff (*ad ipsum pontificem veni*); and there he renounced Satan, his pomps and works, and idols made with hands, and declared his belief in God the Father, Maker of all things visible and invisible, and in His only Son Jesus Christ our Lord born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary. He made this confession voluntarily before all the people and received baptism by a threefold immersion. In the font he perceived a heavenly hand, which by its touch cleansed him from his leprosy. Clothed in white garments he received the sevenfold unction, and on his forehead the sign of the cross. All the people said *Amen*, and the Pope added *Pax tibi*. Further on the day after baptism Sylvester instructed Constantine in the mysteries of the faith and the great power which our Saviour had given to Peter in the assurance, "Thou art Peter and upon this rock I will build my church." In view of this Constantine, recognizing in Peter and his successors the Vicars of Christ, granted to them imperial dignity.

The Church of Rome is given precedence over Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople and Jerusalem, and the Pope (*pontifex*), and his successors are to preside over all bishops (*sacerdotibus*), and to decide all matters of worship and faith. The church in the Lateran is to be known as the head and summit of all churches in the entire world (*Caput et verticem omnium ecclesiarum in orbe terrarum*). In addition to this the Emperor built two churches, one to Peter, and the other to Paul, and granted them lands in Judæa, Greece, Asia, Africa,

Italy, and the various islands, to be administered by Sylvester and his successors. Then follows the gift of the Lateran palace and the peculiar privileges reserved for the Pope. He may wear an imperial crown and the insignia of an emperor, the purple robe, etc.; he is to rank with the commander of the imperial cavalry; he is to have the imperial banners and ornaments and all the advantages of exalted rank. As for the Roman clergy the Emperor gave them the position of senators, patricians and consuls, and the right to be adorned like the imperial soldiery. Their horses' saddle clothes were to be of the whitest linen. Sylvester had in addition authority to receive any Roman noble desirous of entering the monastic life.

But as the holy Sylvester in his deep humility refused to wear the imperial crown the Emperor placed a tiara on his head, and out of reverence he held the bridle of the Pope's horse and acted as his groom. Feeling, moreover, that it was not seemly that anyone should rule in Rome except Sylvester and his successors, Constantine decided to withdraw from Rome and to fix the seat of his empire at Byzantium, where he intended to build a city, and call it after his own name. All the provinces of Italy, perhaps all of the Western Empire, were to be henceforward under the sway of Sylvester and his successors. Those who dispute this decree, will find that Peter and Paul will prove his enemies, and he will be burned in the lowest hell and perish with the devil.

The date is III Kal. Aprt. Cons. Fl Constantino and Galligano viris illustribus.

Fortunately the interest in this strange document is not now controversial. For centuries it has been rejected by all Catholic historians as a palpable forgery, as was demonstrated by Laurentius Valla, a canon of the Lateran Basilica in the fifteenth century. It is tolerably certain that the *Donation* was not used to induce the Franks to create the Papal States. Indeed the Popes did not allude to it till the eleventh century. In the Middle Ages, however, it was universally accepted as authentic, and Constantine was regarded as the founder of the temporal power. Even the Greek church adopted it in sup-

port of the privileges of the clergy of Constantinople, the New Rome. Wycliff employed it in his anti-papal argument to show that the Pope's power came not from on high, but from Constantine, an heretical emperor. Before him Dante had expressed sorrow that the decline of the spiritual purity of the church dates from when this emperor made "the first rich pope." The last to make any attempt to uphold the genuineness of the *Donation* was Cardinal Baronius in the early days of the seventeenth century. The controversy now rages about its origin, its object, and its first appearance. It is said to be a Frankish composition and to date not earlier than A.D. 750 nor later than A.D. 850. It is permissible, therefore, to hazard an opinion that it was a polemic, aimed at the iconoclast emperors at Byzantium. In the first place it endeavours to contrast their arrogant assertion to rule in the church with the humility of the founder of New Rome. Then it demonstrates the early date of the pictures of the saints. Further it shows that the estates of the church throughout the Empire, in the East as well as in the West, were given by Constantine and, therefore, were most improperly confiscated by Leo the Isaurian. Finally the absurd privileges bestowed on the clergy of the Roman church are just what might be expected of those who hankered after the splendours of the Byzantine court, whether at Constantinople or even of Ravenna. At any rate, the document is of extreme interest as indicating the aspirations and ideas of the period, though it had at first but little influence in shaping the course of events or the rise of the papal power.

As it became increasingly evident that Italy must slip out of the grasp of the Byzantine emperor and that the Lombards would become masters of the peninsula, it was necessary for the Roman church to find a protector sufficiently remote not constantly to interfere with its influence in Italy and powerful enough to reduce the Lombards to insignificance. With this end in view the Popes turned to the Franks who for more than two centuries had supported them.

The Frankish kingdom was founded by Clovis, originally

a petty king of the Salian Franks, who, in A.D. 486, overthrew the kingdom of the Roman Syagrius, and afterwards successively defeated the Alemanni on the Rhine, the Visigoths in southwestern France, and the Burgundians in southeastern Gaul. Clovis embraced Christianity in its orthodox form, and was baptized by St. Remigius at Rheims. At his death in A.D. 511 his kingdom was divided among his four sons, and was only rarely united under a single monarch. The Frankish empire comprised *Austrasia*, the home of the Franks, reaching to and beyond the Rhine; *Neustria*, the territory of the Salians, containing the cities of Soissons and Paris; *Aquitania*, the old kingdom of the Visigoths, extending from the Bay of Biscay to the Rhone; and *Burgundia*, the country east of the Rhone, with the Alps as its western boundary. The dynasty of Clovis, known as the Merovingian from Merovech, the grandfather of the founder, a semi-mythical hero born of a Frankish queen and a sea monster, or demigod, continued for ten generations; and its history is one tale of blood, cruelty, and lust, ending in the utter incompetence of its last representatives. For more than a century the kings of this line were *rois fainéants* under the control of mighty officials known as "Mayors of the Palace," who ruled without assuming the titles of royalty.

Among these mayors was a Ripuarian noble, Arnulf Bishop of Metz, who, with his friend Pippin of Landen, administered affairs for Dagobert II A.D. 622. However, Arnulf abandoned his bishopric in 627 and forsook the world, dying in the odour of sanctity A.D. 641.

The house of Arnulf underwent a temporary obscuration for more than forty years from which it emerged under the grandson of its sainted founder Pippin, of Heristal. In A.D. 687, as Austrasian Mayor of the Palace, he won a decisive victory over the Neustrians at Textri in Picardy; and for twenty-seven years till A.D. 714 was virtual ruler of the Frankish dominions. His death was followed by a civil war among his sons ending in the supremacy of his natural son, Charles Martel, the saviour of Gaul from the Mohammedans at the

battle of Tours, A.D. 732. Still, however, the Arnulfs ruled in the name of the legitimate Merovingians, whose authority as time went on became more and more shadowy. Though bound by alliance to the Lombards in Italy, and refusing to help the Romans at the urgent request of Pope Gregory III (A.D. 731–741), Charles and his family were ever drawing closer to the Papacy, as the influence of the great English administrator and missionary Winfrid of Crediton, better known as St. Boniface (Bonifacius or Bonifatius), increased. Since A.D. 722, when Gregory II had consecrated him a bishop, without a see but with a commission to exercise authority among the barbarous nations east of the Rhine, he had advanced in power. His extraordinary devotion to the Roman See was repaid by the unbounded confidence of successive popes; and Charles Martel extended his patronage and protection to this energetic foreigner, who in his zeal for reforming the morals of the church held frequent councils without regard to the wishes of any local hierarchy. He even exercised his own judgment in distributing papal honours, when commanded to confer them by the Pontiff. Boniface ultimately attained to the dignity of Archbishop of Mainz and Primate of Germany. In old age he resigned this position in order to give rein to his missionary zeal, which led him to a martyr's death in A.D. 755. His labours in the Frankish realm resulted more than anything else in the establishment of the kingdom and, indirectly, of the empire of the descendants of St. Arnulf.

In the meantime the Roman church had been constantly "recovering" new accessions of cities and territories. Liutprand, the Lombard king, though he is styled almost invariably by the papal chronicles "most wicked," was unbounded in liberality to Gregory II and III and to their successor Zacharias (A.D. 715–752). These Popes often received cities and territories in the name of the Roman people, as though they represented in themselves the rights of Rome. Indeed the Papal States, which were being thus rapidly acquired and consolidated, were roughly the possessions of the Byzantine Empire in Northern Italy, unconquered by the Lombards in the sixth

and seventh centuries. They thus formed a principality, which, extending from northeast to southwest, virtually cut Italy in two, and was destined in future ages to make a political union between the north and south of the peninsula impossible.

The years A.D. 740 to 744 witnessed the passing away of an older generation and the beginning of a new era. Leo III, the Isaurian, died in 740 and was succeeded by his son Constantine V, a fiercer iconoclast than his father. In the next year both Charles Martel and Gregory III passed away. In January, 744, Liutprand, the greatest of the Lombard kings, and the most liberal benefactor to the Church, ended his long reign, unregretted by the papal chroniclers, who declared that it was in answer to the prayers of the reigning Pope Zacharias (A.D. 741–752). The coming generation was destined to witness the extinction of the Byzantine rule, the rise of the New Frankish monarchy and the ruin of the Lombard power in Italy. During the entire period the church of Rome was guided by popes, some of whom ruled during many years, and none, except a Stephen, who died suddenly two days after his election, for only a few months as in the preceding and following centuries. Many were men of remarkable ability who used every opportunity for aggrandizing the papacy and the prestige of their see. Seldom was there a more remarkable succession than from Gregory II in A.D. 715 to Hadrian I, who died in A.D. 795. During this period of eighty years only eight popes were elected. Hadrian's successor, Leo III, died in A.D. 814.

Charles Martel left two sons, Carloman and Pippin, who ruled jointly as Mayors of the Palace, but in A.D. 747 Carloman retired to Mount Soracte, where he built or enlarged the monastery of St. Sylvester, the Pope around whose name the legends of Constantine's *Conversion* and *Donation* circle. There he lived the life of a monk till finding his devotion interrupted by the crowds he attracted, he fled incognito to Monte Cassino, where he passed some time in obscurity. In A.D. 751 Pippin assumed the sovereignty so long exercised by his ancestors, and became king of the Franks; and with the consent of Pope Zacharias, to whom an embassy had been

sent, he assumed the crown at Soissons, where he was solemnly anointed by St. Boniface. The last of the Merovingians, Childeric III, was dismissed to a monastery. Though the details attending this transaction are obscure, the Frankish monarchy now became united by the closest ties to the Papacy, which had sanctioned a step, already delayed for more than a century, by which the royal power was placed in the hands of the family which had long exercised it. Nor was it long ere Pippin was called upon to prove his gratitude to the Roman See.

In A.D. 751 Aistulf, king of the Lombards, dated a document from *Ravenna in Palatio*. This is the only record of a most momentous occurrence, the fall of the Byzantine rule in north Italy. Not even the name of the last Exarch is known. But though the fall of Ravenna is unrecorded, it was of the utmost importance. There was now no power in Italy to stand between the Romans as represented by the Papacy and the hated Lombards. Aistulf seemed determined to press his advantage.

Zacharias had been succeeded by Stephen II; and during his short pontificate (A.D. 752–757) this Pope crossed the Alps, appealed boldly to Pippin for aid against the enemy of his see, and succeeded in obtaining the *Donation* which laid the foundation of the papal dominion. It was in October A.D. 753 that Stephen set forth on his journey, first to Aistulf, and then to Pippin. Despite all obstacles he crossed the Alps and reached Northern Gaul where he repeated the coronation of Pippin and his consort Bertha with their sons Charles and Carloman. Finally at the famous diet at Quiercy (Carisiacum) he obtained the promise that Pippin would vindicate the rights of the Roman See, if need be by attacking the Lombards, and also the gift of extensive territories when the Lombards were defeated. This is the *Donation* of Pippin, which has been long a subject of keen dispute. On it at least was based the title to the "State of the Church," which may be said to date from A.D. 754, as the foundation of the city does from the same year B.C. To make good his promise to the Pope, Pippin invaded Italy, and forced Aistulf to cede Ravenna and other cities to Stephen

II, or rather to the Romans. But as Aistulf did not fulfil the terms of the treaty there was a second expedition by Pippin, on the urgent appeal of Stephen II. When Aistulf besieged Rome and the city was itself in danger, the Pope wrote to Pippin two letters sent by the hand of the Abbot Werner. But the papal messenger bore a third from one even greater than the Pope, St. Peter himself. Together with the Ever Virgin Mary and the entire army of the celestial host the Apostle urges his adopted son, as he calls Pippin, to come to the rescue of his city, his people and his tomb. Should the king presume to disobey he is assured that he will forfeit the Kingdom of God and eternal life. Pippin obeyed, and forced Aistulf to hand over a great portion, but not all of the Exarchate to the see of St. Peter. Aistulf died in A.D. 756, and Stephen in the following year, being succeeded by his brother Paul II. The next and last Lombard king was Desiderius.

The work begun by Pippin was completed by his more famous son Charlemagne or Charles the Great (A.D. 768–814). Without entering into details it may be well to indicate the stages by which the King of the Franks became Emperor of the Romans and to examine the causes of this revolution in the world policy of the Popes.

The downfall of the Byzantine rule in Italy was not altogether a blessing to the Romans; for if the iconoclast Emperors stood for heresy, and the administration of the Exarchate for extortion, at least they represented a certain measure of civilization as opposed to Lombard barbarism. As history relates the able diplomacy of the pontiffs, the officialdom of their court and hierarchy, the decorations lavished on the churches of Rome, the reader is apt to picture a comparatively civilized society. The delusion is heightened by the grandiloquent phrases employed to describe the senate, the army and the civil institutions of the imperial city. But here and there an incident occurs to remind one that the Rome of the eighth century was little removed from the anarchy of savagery. When, for example, at the death of Paul I in A.D. 767, Toto, Duke of

Nepi, forced his kinsman Constantine upon the Papacy, and there was a revolution, which ended in the deposition of the usurper and the setting up of Stephen III. The unlucky Constantine was blinded, and many of his supporters, bishops and priests, were deprived of their eyes and tongues. The deposed Pope was led in derision through the streets seated on a horse with a woman's saddle and heavy weights attached to his feet. At the Synod which followed he was brought in and blinded as he was, attacked by the clergy, because he dared to make a defence. Finally he was beaten by them and thrown out of the church of the Lateran. Such disorders often occurred whenever the strong hand of external authority happened to be withdrawn.

It is noteworthy that despite the fact that the iconoclasm of the emperors tended to alienate the papacy from Byzantium, Charles and the Franks generally sympathized with them in their condemnation of image worship, and, when Irene reestablished the practice, she and the Pope were alike in opposition to Charles. Nevertheless the ties, partly it may be of self-interest, which bound the Papacy to the Franks were too strong to be broken even by a difference of opinion on what was then considered an almost vital point.

The year A.D. 774, when Charles visited Rome on his expedition against Desiderius, which ended in the destruction of the Lombard power in Italy, is said to have been marked by the confirmation of the *Donation* of Pippin. The liberality of Charles exceeded that of his father as he declared the Papal States to comprise nearly two-thirds of Italy. The papal dominions were to include the island of Corsica; and, starting from Luna, on the northwest coast, the boundary was to run north to Parma, Reggio, and Mantua to Monteselice. It was to embrace the entire Exarchate of Ravenna (*Sicut antiquitus erat*) and the provinces of Venetia and Istria, and the entire Duchy of Spoleto or Beneventum. According to this arrangement Lombardy north of the Po, with Piedmont and the Riviera were to belong to the Franks; Calabria and Sicily with perhaps Naples, and Gaeta, to the Byzantines; and all the rest of Italy

to the Papacy. It is needless to say that the States of the Church were never so extensive; and no trace of the document exists except in the *Liber Pontificalis*. This represents an unrealized dream of Papal ambition, perhaps one which was never seriously cherished, and certainly it never entered into the sphere of practical politics. By A.D. 791, the end of the pontificate of Hadrian, the temporal dominion of the Pope in Italy was an established fact, brought into being by the necessity of the age and recognized by the Frankish monarch who was the one great Christian ruler in Western Europe.

Hadrian I appears to have been a ruler of high character and ability, to have won the respect of Charles, who, however, did not allow himself to be dictated to even in ecclesiastical matters. The Synod of Frankfort, for example, held under his protection in A.D. 794, forbade the sacred images to be worshipped, though it allowed them to be retained in the churches. Hadrian was able to maintain his position with dignity till his death in A.D. 795, when once more the barbarism of papal Rome stood revealed. Hadrian, a man of noble family, had the support of his kindred and entrusted them with positions of authority. His two nephews, Paschalis and Campulus, held two of the highest positions in his court, the one being *Primicerius*, and the other *Saccelarius*.

The Papacy was at this time administered as a kingdom by great officers around the throne, whose power exceeded those of the various provincial princes represented by the bishops. Already the Pope's court was modelled on the imperial palace; and to understand the capacity in which he conferred the imperial diadem on Charles it is necessary to have some idea of the Government of the Church and City of Rome in the eighth century. Since the beginning of the Exarchate of Ravenna in the seventh century, the ruling powers of the City had been the Army and the Church. The neglect of the Byzantine government to do anything for the protection of Rome against the encroachments of the Lombards forced the Popes to have considerable influence in the disposition of the soldiers who composed the aristocracy of the city. The *Ex-*

ercitus Romanus took the place of the *Senatus Populusque Romanus* of earlier times and exercised much influence in the papal elections. In the time of Hadrian its *duces* appear to have been nominated by the Pope, as were most of the civil officers. All these belonged to the ruling families of Rome, the people being of little or no account. Far above all the clergy stood the seven great officials of the papal court. These corresponded to the seven diaconates of the city, and none of those who held these positions were of priestly rank. Yet, like the deacons of an earlier date, they were the actual rulers. Each of these officials was head of his respective department, or *schola;* and the papal court was served by a perfect host of officials. Over all was the Pope who represented both the *Exercitus*, the aristocracy of Rome, and the immense clerical administration.

The successor of Hadrian was Leo III (A.D. 795), a man apparently of humble origin, unable to cope with the officialdom of Church and Army of the *Respublica Romana.* On St. Mark's Day (April 25, 799), Paschalis and Campulus accompanied Leo from the Lateran in a procession to St. Lorenzo in Lucina. Their confederates attacked the Pope at the monastery of St. Sylvester in Capite, dragged him from his horse, tore his vestments, and endeavoured to deprive him of his eyes and tongue. For a time Leo was held a captive; but his sight and speech were restored, it is said, by a miracle, and ultimately he managed to escape to Charles at Paderborn. The city was now in the hands of revolutionaries, who elected no anti-Pope but calmly awaited the coming of their over-lord, the Frankish King.

Charles was neither moved to instant vengeance by this outrage, nor convinced that Leo owed his liberty and recovery to divine aid. As patron of the Roman Church, custodian of the keys of St. Peter's tomb, and standard bearer of the Roman City, Charles, when the insurgents sent their accusations against Leo, felt and acted as a judge. His adviser, the Englishman Alcuin, induced him to put off his expedition against the Saxons, and to repair to Rome. At the same time he recom-

mended deliberation in dealing with the Pope and his rebellious subjects. Charles entered the city on November 23, 800, the Pope having returned previously under escort. What ensued is related with disappointing brevity in the *Liber Pontificalis*.

Much obscurity surrounds this transaction, and indeed all the early pontificate of Leo III. He solemnly in the presence of Charles cleared himself by a solemn oath of the things laid to his charge by his enemies, and this purgation was deemed sufficient. But it is not to be forgotten that Alcuin confesses that one of the letters relating to the affair of the Pope was so likely to cause offence that he considered it advisable to put it into the fire. The suspicious circumstances attendant on the outrage perpetrated by Paschalis and his friends and the flight of Leo must be taken into account in estimating his share in the step he was about to take.

On Christmas Day Charles and his suite attended Holy Mass in St. Peter's. As he knelt at the altar, Leo III placed a diadem on his head, and the multitude with one voice exclaimed: "Life and Victory of Charles the most pious Augustus, crowned of God, great and peace giving Emperor." The Pope then anointed him and his son Pippin, and kneeling down (according to the Frankish account) did him homage.

Thus did Leo accomplish one of the most momentous acts in the history of Christendom, the significance of which has been debated ever since. Did the Pope proclaim Charles of his own initiative or by some preconceived plan? Did Charles take the Empire as a gift from the Pope? Who conferred on the Frankish king the title of Augustus? In the subsequent controversies between the partisans of the Papacy and the Empire an endless stream of arguments poured forth to show that the imperial authority was delegated by the Pope, or that the papal see was subordinate to the Emperor as God's vicegerent on earth. Here perhaps it is sufficient to point out a few facts, the recognition of which may help to decide so vexed a problem.

In the first place it should be remembered that at Constantinople the Patriarchs always performed the office of

crowning a new Emperor, yet without any idea of thereby claiming to be other than subjects of their earthly ruler.

In the second place, whilst the Byzantine ceremonial of crowning the Emperor was solemn and orderly, the older tradition was that the soldiers should acclaim their leader as Emperor by sudden impulse. The Romans at this time claimed to be the Army and as such they may have exercised the privilege of saluting Charlès as Emperor, just as in A.D. 361 the soldiers in Gaul had, to employ the expression of Gibbon, pronounced the "fatal word Augustus" when they saluted Julian, raised him on a shield and crowned him with a military collar in lieu of a diadem. This combination of a Byzantine coronation and the salutation of the Roman army may have been arranged by Leo III and the Romans, but can hardly have been entirely unpremeditated. This may, however, explain how the coronation and acclamation came as a surprise to Charles and account for his having assured his biographer Einhard that he never would have entered the church had he known what Leo was intending to do.

By crowning Charles, Leo III had given Old Rome as well as New an Emperor. But even then there was no idea of creating a Western as well as an Eastern Empire. In theory at least the Empire was one and indivisible, and though there might be two or more Emperors there could be but one Empire. Various devices were invented to disguise the fact that Charles had not divided the Empire by assuming the diadem. It was declared that there was no Emperor at the time, but only Irene, murderess of her son, ruling in Constantinople. Charles sought to remedy his defective title by making an offer of marriage to Irene, and later endeavoured to be accepted as a colleague by the Byzantine Augustus. But no theory could prevent the fact of a rupture between East and West in practice. The coronation had called into being a Western Empire. It was also an attempt to bring the divided nations of Western Christendom into unity by reverting to the one imperial government with one authority over all shared between the temporal and spiritual powers. By restoring the ancient order

it was hoped that the ancient civilization, purified by the Church, would return.

By the close of the ninth century two fundamental ideas of the Middle Ages had come into being. A world federation of Christians as expressed in the Empire, and the sovereign authority of the Church embodied in the Papal States. For centuries they were both part of the political theories of Western Europe. Their embodiment continued to exist long after their significance was lost. The idea of an Empire ceased to exercise its influence in the fifteenth century; but the Holy Roman Empire, *ni saint, ni Empire, ni romain*, lasted till 1806. In the sixteenth century the Reformation shattered the pretensions of the Pope to rule as a sovereign over all the nations of Europe; but the Papal States lingered on till 1870. Yet the statesmanship of the eighth century which amid much barbarism and disorder conceived the idea of a united Christendom, which made the church call upon the great Frankish chieftain to become *Augustus pacificus* and Charles to entrust the Pope with such vast power over all Christians, cannot be despised. Its ideals were noble and were perhaps less tainted by personal consideration than those of ages which can boast of a far greater material civilization. There was a sincere desire on the part of the rulers to build up what they conceived a great Christian state in the world.

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the Popes as church builders and restorers. Bede's *Historia Gentis Anglorum* is of course the authority for Honorius' dealing with Britain. Dr. Mann's *Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages*, Vol. I, Part I, and *Leclercq's* edition of Hefele's *Councils* may be consulted. For the Rise of Islam refer to *Cambridge Mediæval History*, Vol. I, Ch. X, by A. A. Bevan. Harnack's *History of Dogma*, and F. Loofs are authorities on the controversies regarding the Person of Christ; and F. J. F-Jackson treats the subject in his *History of the Christian Church to A.D. 461* (sixth edition). Bright's *Age of the Fathers*, Vol. II, Ch. XXXVI and following, is very valuable. An account of Constans II and the Monothelite controversy is to be found in Professor Krüger's Article on "Monothelitism" in Hastings' *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, where the literature on the subject is given; see also Hefele's *Councils* (French Edition). For the decay of Byzantines in Italy I recommend the study of Chs. XII (E. W. Brooks), XIX, XXI (Dr. Gerhard Seeliger), XX (P. Vinogradoff) and XXI (F. J. F-Jackson), in the *Cambridge Mediæval History*, Vol. II. Refer to *History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene*, by J. B. Bury, and, of course, to Gibbon's Forty-ninth chapter. These deal also with Iconoclasm, on which see Milman, *Latin Christianity*, Bk. IV, Ch. VII, and G. T. Stokes' "Iconoclastæ," in the *Dict. of Christian Antiquities*,—a most suggestive article. Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, Vol. VI, pp. 451 and 552–505, denies the genuineness of the correspondence between Gregory II and Leo, the Isaurian. St. Boniface's life by Willibald has been translated by George W. Robinson (1916). Consult Milman, Hodgkin and the Bibliography to Ch. XVI of the *Cambridge Mediæval History*, Vol. II. For Frankish History and the rise of the house of Arnulf from whom sprang Charles Martel, Pippin, and Charles the Great, Hodgkin, *op. cit.*, Vol. VII, Chs. I–III, is very useful. The text of the story of the conversion and donation of Constantine is in Haller, pp. 241 ff. Charles' grant of territory to Hadrian is given in Hodgkin, Vol. VII, Note E, where it is discussed. It is also in Haller, p. 54, from the *Liber Pontificalis*. The perplexing question of the innocence of Leo III is treated by Mann, *Lives of the Popes*, Vol. II, pp. 19 ff. Alcuin's letters throw light on the subject. See the *Life of Alcuin*, by C. J. B. Gaskoin. The Coronation of Charles is the subject of a vast mass of literature, the introduction to which should be Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire*, Ch. IV, "The restoration of the Empire of the West."

CHAPTER III

THE SO-CALLED DARK AGES

The Dark Ages a misnomer — Strength of the Papacy — Rapid decay of Charles' Empire — Character of Louis the Pious — Two Teutonic Nations, the Germans and the French — Feudalism — Influences on the early development of the Church — Persecution — Church law — Organization — The Church Divine — The Church and letters — Intellectual stimulus of theology — Feudal influences — The Churches of East and West — Nicolas I (the Great) — Ignatius and Photius — Splendid but precarious position of the Patriarch of Constantinople — Election of Ignatius as Patriarch — Ignatius opposes Bardas — Moral depravity at Constantinople — Photius supplants Ignatius — Nicolas I excommunicates Photius — Ignatius — Nicolas and Lothair's adultery — Hincmar of Reims — Character of Nicolas I — The False Decretals — Universal employment of Latin — Controversy stimulates the intellect — Devotional literature — The Dark Age of the Papacy — Formosus — The counts of Tusculum — Anarchy in Europe — The Saxon Dynasty — Accusations against John XII — Insecurity of the Popes — Crescentius — Papacy dependent of Tusculum — Influence of the Papacy outside Rome — Canute's letter — Results of the Dark Ages.

The term "Dark Ages" is not a misnomer, though it covers a period of decay, disorder, and confusion. At the same time there are not wanting signs to show that the light of reason was by no means extinguished. On the contrary, especially in the Church, great conservative and creative forces were at work which preserved much of the older civilization and also brought new conceptions of social order into being. The period from the opening of the ninth to the middle of the eleventh century was characterized by the inextinguishable vitality of the Church, and especially the Roman Church, under every conceivable disadvantage. This may be said to be due to (I) The inherent strength of the Papacy. (II) The retention of the law and languages of the Roman world. (III) The constant development of religious ideas under the influence of monasticism. (IV) The formulation of doctrines and practices, which were accepted for centuries. That such things should have been possible when Europe was a prey to barbarism, continually bursting in through new and unexpected channels, is sufficient

proof that neither the light of divine guidance nor of human intelligence had entirely failed.

I. The newly founded Empire of the West was remarkable for the promise it gave of better things. Charles the Great, with all his moral defects and imperfect education, was no mere conqueror of nations, but a man of singular enlightenment, who in his later days invited learned men like Paul, the Lombard Deacon, and Peter of Pisa to his court; and his friendship and correspondence with the Northumbrian Alcuin, the Christian humanist of the last half of the eighth century, is well known. His government was statesmanlike, and his policy enlightened, and he did all in his power to federate the Empire which his warlike enterprises had created. It seemed indeed at one time that the Roman Empire in the West would become, not a theory, but a permanent reality.

But after his death on January 28, 814, a period first of slow and soon of rapid disintegration set in. His son, Louis the Pious, called in later time le Débonnaire, was too like his uncle Carloman, who had retired from the world, than his father Charles, who had remained in it to create for himself the empire of the West. But Louis would have needed even greater abilities to hold the Empire together than his father had shown in calling it into being. The Empire one and indivisible was a Roman conception, foreign to the ideas of the Teutonic family into whose hands it had fallen. The tendency of the Germanic peoples was to divide the imperial inheritance into practically independent principalities; and each king desired to bestow his dominions among his sons. The Church, on the other hand, was administered by men imbued with the Roman traditions of solidarity. Curiously enough the great ecclesiastics of the newly constituted Empire were, as far as their secular ambitions were concerned, as ready to split into factions and parties as their countrymen; but as clergy they were drawn together by a strong sense of the essential unity of the Church.

The reign of Louis the Pious, 814–855, is the record of the endeavours of a virtuous monarch to hold together a distracted

empire by justice and mercy, in an age which demanded firm, and even ruthless methods. Louis was an indulgent father, when it was indispensable for him as the head of the imperial family to be a tyrant. He was conscientious rather than priest-ridden; and one act of his gave a precedent to the first King of Prussia and to Napoleon. On the death of his brothers, in the presence of his father, he entered the cathedral at Aix-la-Chapelle and taking the crown from the altar placed it on his own head, whilst the assembled courtiers and bishops shouted, "*Vivat Imperator Ludovicus.*" According to another version, however, it was Charles who crowned his son. This was in 813; in 816 Stephen IV crowned Louis again at Rheims. At the two diets at Aix-la-Chapelle, in 814 and 817, the Emperor showed himself a stern and vigorous reformer of the Church. The strength of the Empire and the weakness of the Roman Church was also shown in the disorders which broke out when the news of the death of Charles the Great reached the city. Leo III's long pontificate and his profuse expenditure on the churches of Rome had apparently not endeared him to his people; and in 814 he was threatened by a conspiracy similar to that of Paschalis and Campulus in 798, and Louis was apprised of the Pope's unpopularity, as his father had been sixteen years before. Nor did any pope of marked eminence make his appearance whilst Louis was Emperor. Nevertheless, as subsequent events reveal, the power of the Roman See was steadily increasing as that of the Empire dissolved.

The historical details of the decay of the vast system built up by the genius of Charles the Great are of little interest to any but the professional student of the period. The changes in the map of Europe during the ninth and tenth centuries are kaleidoscopic and bewildering, and, even to some who are tolerably well informed in general history, the numerous Lothairs, Pippins, Charles, and Louises of the Carolingian House are but names. But in this chaos of conflicting monarchs, rendered darker by the invading Northmen, Hungarians, and other barbarians, it is possible to discern certain elements out of which modern Europe was evolved. In the first place the

Germanic people was divided into two great nations with different ideals. The Western Franks or French formed a kingdom of their own under a descendant of Charles the Great. They occupied the territory which had been part of the Empire and had never completely broken with the Roman tradition. The shadows of the old Roman municipalities still lingered in towns, shorn of their former splendour; and, as France came into being, Rome revived. Even Teutonic feudalism was powerless to destroy the ancient civilization of the old world. Thus France, divided as it was into petty principalities, had a strong centripetal tendency; and when the last vestiges of the Carolingian family disappeared the "Dukes of France," who succeeded them, steadily drew the entire country into a united whole; and the work begun by Louis the Fat in the twelfth century was completed by Louis the Great in the seventeenth. The Eastern Franks, whose home lay beyond the bounds of the ancient Empire, retained the imperial heritage of Charles the Great; but, with the splendid title of Roman Emperors, the power of their rulers rested on less solid foundations than the Kings of France. They were the nominal heads of the Roman world, but neither they nor their people were animated by the Roman spirit. The German nation as distinguished from the French were centrifugal. The tendency to split into small principalities increased rather than diminished as time went on, and by the time that France had become a coherent whole in the eighteenth century, the German Empire was a congeries of independent princedoms. Herein is a clue to many a problem of medieval history. France reverted to the system and order of the ancient Empire, and arose on the ashes of an older civilization, whilst Germany retained much of the ancient Teutonic individualism, and never truly assimilated the ideals of Rome, whose empire it claimed to continue.

These tendencies, however, were invisible in the ninth and tenth centuries, and society was becoming more and more influenced by what we term the feudal system. As, with the absence of strong rulers, the imperial theory of a united Christian world became less and less practicable, the possi-

bility of extensive organization vanished owing to lack of means of communication and of the circulation of wealth, and something had to be devised to protect society from dissolution.

Feudalism was not deliberately devised to meet the needs of the age. It was developed, perhaps necessarily, out of the chaotic conditions of affairs, as the inevitable outcome of the failure of the imperial ideal of Charles and his Roman advisers. The Teutonic principle of dividing the dominions of a monarch among his sons led to the creation of an increasing number of petty kingdoms; and the individualism, so strong among the Germanic peoples, caused every chieftain to develop into an independent ruler of his own domain. Nor was the feudal system entirely Teutonic in origin; for the Romans were familiar with the practice of one man putting himself under the protection of another. In theory the feudal idea was that the strong should extend protection over the weak in return for certain service; and that property was a trust to be exercised for the benefit of others. This was the source of the best side of feudalism—chivalry, the protection of the weak, and the virtues of knighthood. But few signs of such goodly fruit were manifested in the Dark Ages. In them feudalism meant the substitution of the baron's castle for the municipality, internecine strife between neighbours in place of a society kept at peace by a strong external authority, and the tyrannous caprice of an individual lord, instead of the supreme law of the Empire. But perhaps the most serious blemish of early feudalism was that its petty governments were not based on the quasi-paternal status of the chief of a clan, but on the strength of an aristocracy—really a more vigorous race—which held down its vassals, often the descendants of the old Roman provincials, and forced them to do its will. It was practically the organized rule by members of a dominant caste unchecked by public opinion, or even by the will of a powerful sovereign. Still, with all its evils, feudalism had the merit of being at least a system, and was better than the anarchy which had prevailed before its introduction. Its very extension throughout western Europe is a proof of its necessity.

The Church had organized herself in the Roman Empire under the influence of three things: (a) Persecution, (b) law, and (c) the civil polity of the Empire.

(a) From the day of their complete severance from Judaism the Christians had uniformly refused to place their religion under the protecting ægis of the Empire. True they may have secured their property by availing themselves of the laws regarding benefit clubs and burial; but they never sought the recognition of the State. Sooner than do this, they preferred to stand completely aloof from the Cæsar worship and the admission of other faiths, which to them would have been the price of legal toleration. To conserve their peculiar position, they readily and even joyously endured persecution. As followers of a religion constantly exposed to attack either by the population or the government, they were compelled to organize themselves and submit to a discipline almost military in its severity. The Christians became the soldiers, the Church, the army of Christ; the clergy acted as their officers in the war against the world. Before the days of the great Diocletian persecution the Church had become engaged in a direct conflict with the entire strength of the Empire; and although its resistance was passive, it was disciplined. Irregular martyrdom was as firmly discountenanced as guerilla warfare among organized troops; and recognition as a martyr could only be won with the approval of the bishops, the leaders of the campaign. It is not without significance that in the early days of the second century the strongest advocate of submission to the bishop and his council of priests and deacons was the martyr bishop, Ignatius. Even after persecution had ceased, its influence continued, and the Church remained an independent army, at war with the world. However arbitrary, therefore, the imperial authority over churchmen might be, especially in the East, it could never repress their strong sense of independence, and they were ready to brave a thousand deaths in defence of what they held to be the fundamentals of the Christian faith. But if the clergy were at times subservient to the Emperor, they had at least the excuse that they

believed his power to be ordained of God. Towards no "barbarian" king or lord could they have any such feeling of reverence. Nay, rather, unless he proved a true nursing father of the Church, it was their duty to resist him in the name of humanity, and of civilization. Thus the Church as a restraining influence in days of anarchy owed her strength to the martyr spirit engendered by her long contest with pagan Rome.

(b) From the first the Church had claimed and exercised legislative powers. Beginning with the apostolic decree of the Council of Jerusalem, a scheme of legislation had developed comparable to that of the Empire. Christianity proved a religion attractive to the Roman lawyers, who gave the Church the full benefit of their professional experience. Tertullian pleaded, Cyprian legislated, and Ambrose administered in accordance with the traditions they had received at the bar and on the bench. The Church Councils, which made laws for Christians, were in the truest sense representative bodies, as the bishops, with whom the final decision rested, were delegates solemnly and publicly elected to represent their respective churches. In later times it is true election became increasingly less common, yet, in theory at least, every bishop was supposed to represent the people over whom he presided.

Whenever a Church was founded among a barbarian people the clergy introduced the Canon, or Church law of the Roman Empire, and insisted upon the right to live under its provisions. Compared with their converts, moreover, they were experts in legislation, and their influence is seen in many of the barbarian codes which were drawn up in the different kingdoms of Europe. The conquered provincials, with whom the clergy were as a rule in sympathy, were often allowed to live as formerly under the Roman Law; but as this fell for a time with abeyance in the Dark Ages, the Canon Law survived as its best representative.

(c) Even before the Church had been recognized by Constantine, its organization had begun to be modelled on that of the Empire. At a very early date Rome, the Babylon of the Apocalypse, had become the capital of the Christian world,

with Antioch, Alexandria, and even Carthage, which could claim no apostolic founder, as the chief sees. In the West the Church had survived the Empire, conserving many of the ancient Roman institutions, with a sense of order, and the claim to represent, not a single people, but all humanity. It stood indeed for the ideal of the Empire, which the fall of the Carolingian dynasty had proved incapable of practical restoration.

As imperial and universal, the Church stood high above the principalities of the Germanic peoples, as representing the civilization of the past, as Roman in the sense of being worldwide. Even if we regard the Church as no more than a creation of human origin, it was yet a beacon of light amid the darkness of the days of anarchy and disorder.

But the Church claimed to be of divine, not of human, institution, nor did any Christian people, however barbarous, or uneducated, deny this. The clergy were regarded as being trustees of supernatural gifts of divine grace. They dispensed the sacraments without which no man could be saved; in their hands were the keys of heaven. Those whose merits had won the favour of heaven wrought signs and wonders, they could foretell the future, they had a share in the counsels of God Himself. In times of plague, of pestilence, of famine, their aid was indispensable. Endowed with mysterious gifts, they commanded the reverence of the most hardened men in the crises of their lives. But for them, it was believed, the powers of evil would engulf the world.

But their influence rested on other foundations than those of superstitious dread or selfish hope. Christianity, though doubtless corrupted from its original purity, was still a constant protest against unrighteousness. The Christian religion never ceased to extol the merit of charity to the poor; and as monasticism grew in strength poverty acquired an additional merit in men's eyes. There never was a time at which the Christian conscience was perfectly at ease on the question of slavery; and the clergy proved a barrier, though at times but a feeble one, against feudal oppression. Above all, however, Christianity was a religion of hope. Miserable as the world was, at

least the Church offered the hope of redress in the world to come, and the happiness of heaven to those who knew of none on earth. The Church, therefore, was the only institution from which any hope of a regenerated world could be expected.

The Dark Ages would undoubtedly have witnessed the annihilation of letters but for the Church. It is easy to point the finger of scorn at the ignorance of the western clergy in the ninth and tenth centuries, their boundless credulity, their atrocious Latinity, the modicum of knowledge, mostly incorrect, which passed for learning. But it must not be forgotten that but for them there would have been no learning at all, and probably not so much as a language would have survived to conserve the traditions, even of paganism, without the labours of the monk and missionary.

In addition to this, without theology and the need of instructing the people in at least the rudiments of the Faith, the human mind would have had little mental sustenance. Even in conserving the Faith a demand was made on the reflective faculties. Thus after fully admitting the failures of the Church and its degradation, it must be acknowledged that it stood alone as representing civilization in a time when the future progress of humanity appeared almost unthinkable.

As, however, the Church had become imperialized in the days of the Empire and continued to be so in the East, so now in the West it could not escape the influence of feudalism. Although on principle opposed to class distinction, though in the past slaves had been honoured as martyrs, and respected as bishops, under Germanic influence, birth became more and more an essential qualification for high office in the Church. Still the poor sought and obtained ordination, for the strength of the Church lay in the fact that it opened its doors to piety and ability without respect of persons; but the legislation of the time tended to keep the bondman and tiller of the soil out of the priesthood, and the ecclesiastical writers are never weary of denouncing the sin of the King of Israel who made priests of the lowest of the people. As the power and wealth

of the bishops increased, the office was entrusted to men of noble birth who tended to become feudatories of the Empire, and even independent rulers rather than pastors of their flocks. In the wars and feuds, which embittered the reign of Louis the Pious, at least as many bishops as counts played a prominent part; and this continued for several centuries. Already the princely prelates of Germany had taken their place among the secular princes of the Western Empire, already the Pope of Rome had become a sovereign, who claimed to sit with the Emperor on the throne of the world.

Such then was the strength and weakness of the Christian Church when the darkness lay thickest over the Western world. When we transport ourselves to the East from "old" Rome to the "new" Rome of Constantinople things are different; and it would have been hard indeed for a subject, say of Charles the Fat, who visited the Byzantine court, to believe that the hope of civilization would be realized, not on the shores of the Bosphorus, but in the dominion of his master. Constantinople was the one great city of Europe, not, like Rome, a congeries of deserted streets and buildings, the dead memorials of a great past, but a place teeming with a vast population, the emporium of the trade of the world. The Romans, as her Greek-speaking inhabitants called themselves, were still the most powerful nation on earth; their army was drilled and disciplined to be more than a match even of the armies of the Crescent; their navy, manned by excellent sailors and rendered the more formidable by Greek fire, which was discharged from a sort of cannon, protected a worldwide trade. Nor was there any justification for the view that Byzantine Rome was decadent. Before her were generations, capable of producing great emperors, soldiers, statesmen, and she was long destined to remain the chief bulwark of Christendom. Bulgarians and Russians, as well as Saracens, had retreated and would still retreat, baffled and defeated, from her walls. Her coinage circulated alike in Europe and Asia. Her churches were the admiration of the world; but Constantinople was not like Old Rome, a city of churches and monasteries. Palaces, baths,

libraries, schools, occupied the city, her shops were filled with wares and her quays with merchandise. In every respect the Empire of the East had the advantage over the chaotic, newly created, imperial system of western Europe. By the light of these facts it is possible to understand some typical examples of events in the Dark Ages.

An immense stride was taken in the assertion of the supreme power of the papacy by Nicolas I, one of the few pontiffs honoured by posterity with the title of "the Great." His comparatively brief pontificate (A.D. 858–867) is memorable for four things: (1) his defiance of the Eastern Emperor in defence of the wrong done to Ignatius, the deposed patriarch of Constantinople; (2) his firm stand for the sanctity of marriage against Lothair, King of Lorraine; (3) his breaking the pride of the great prelates of Gaul; (4) the appearance of those remarkable documents in support of the worldwide authority of the Pope known as the "False Decretals."

(1) The splendid position of the Patriarch of Constantinople as contrasted with that of the Bishop of Old Rome, the fact that next to the Emperor he was the greatest man in a rich and flourishing empire, the head of a church equally renowned for its learning and magnificence, was neutralized in a measure by the insecurity of his position in a corrupt and despotic court. With all his advantages the Patriarch was always a subject, whilst the Pope was becoming more and more of an independent sovereign. Moreover, though more than one Pope was destined to bring discredit on the Church, Rome afforded scope for men of commanding intellect and high moral character; and these were enabled to make a firmer stand for righteousness than any Patriarch since the days of Chrysostom. There is abundant evidence of this in the story of the See of Constantinople in the ninth century. Leo V summoned a council in 815, and deposed the patriarch Nicephorus, the historian, for refusing to agree to the Emperor's iconoclastic policy. In 842 John VII, the grammarian, the wonder of his age for his learning and mechanical knowledge, was deposed, scourged and blinded by the image worshippers; and in 857 Michael

III, the Drunkard, deposed the saintly Ignatius, whose story must now be told.

The Patriarch Methodius, with whose aid the regent Theodora, widow of Theophilus and mother of Michael III, had restored the images, died in 846; and the two candidates for the vacancy were both sons of Emperors, Gregory, Bishop of Syracuse, of Leo the Armenian, whilst Ignatius, as the son of Michael I, represented the family which his rival's father had dethroned. The competitors stood for different aspects of churchmanship. In Ignatius the virtues of St. Theodore of the Studium were incarnate; zeal for Rome, for images, for the independence of the Church were combined in him with the asceticism of a true monk. In Gregory, a more worldly perhaps, a more liberal Christianity was discoverable. The election of Ignatius was the victory of the uncompromising Church party, favoured by Theodora, which inclined towards friendship with the Pope of old Rome. Ignatius not only offended Gregory by supplanting him, but refused to acknowledge him because he had been accused of violating the canons of the Church. Thus there was a party formed in opposition to the Patriarch, a man of saintly character, but probably with the limitations of a narrow monastic training. In his dispute with Gregory, Ignatius had won the support of Pope Benedict III.

For eleven years, till 857, Ignatius occupied his throne undisturbed. His position was no easy one for a man of sensitive conscience. Theodora proved herself a capable ruler; but she entrusted her infant son Michael to his uncle Bardas, a man of immoral habits, who seems to have deliberately fostered the evil propensities of his young charge, destined to be known to posterity as the "the Drunkard." Theodora, like Irene the earlier restorer of the images, is accused of encouraging her son's profligacy to prolong her power as regent, though she appears to have ruled wisely and well. But in the end Bardas and his party proved too strong for Theodora, and an attempt was made to force her and the Emperor's sisters to enter a monastery. Ignatius refused to be an accomplice in this design, urging that it was uncanonical to compel unwilling persons

to enter religion. This made him a definite partisan of Theodora, and opposed to Bardas.

The state of morality at this time at Constantinople was admittedly deplorable. The young Emperor indulged in disgraceful orgies and openly made a mock of religion. Bardas was supposed to be guilty of an incestuous passion for his son's wife. Theodora had married her son at the age of sixteen to a lady named Eudocia, whom Michael deserted to live with another of the same name, Eudocia Ingerina. At the feast of Easter, 857, Ignatius refused the communion to Bardas. A charge of sedition was trumped up against the patriarch and he was exiled to Terebinthus and ordered to resign his see. As he remained inflexible, he was deposed.

Bearing in mind the high birth and reputation for sanctity which Ignatius enjoyed, Bardas wisely selected the best possible successor in Photius, chief secretary of state, whose vast erudition is still recognized with gratitude by modern scholars. Himself nobly born, the grand-nephew of the patriarch Tarasius (A.D. 784–806), and allied to the imperial house, Photius combined the wisdom of a statesman with encyclopedic learning, in contrast to Ignatius, who was at heart little more than a devout monk. Indeed it is related that Photius had promulgated opinions ludicrously heretical in order to show the world the incompetence of the Patriarch Ignatius when there was an occasion for exhibiting a knowledge of philosophy. Like his grand-uncle and some other Patriarchs at the time of his election Photius was a layman; but five days were sufficient to make him a monk, reader, subdeacon, deacon and priest, and on the sixth, December 25, 857, he was consecrated Archbishop of Constantinople.

There is a modern prejudice in favour of Photius, but granted even that Ignatius was narrow and ignorant, a supporter of the monastic party and the superstitious Theodora, and a partisan of Rome, and admitting that Photius adorned his see by his learning, and maintained its independence against papal arrogance, nothing can conceal the fact that Ignatius was deposed unjustly, and no attribution of motives to the Pope

of Rome in espousing his cause can make right wrong. The deposition of Ignatius in 857 was as unjust as that of St. John Chrysostom four and a half centuries earlier; and the treatment of Ignatius by his opponents was indefensible, though, to do Photius justice, he protested strongly against the cruel treatment of some of his rival's adherents.

What follows recalls the story of the Latrocinium in 449 when the Patriarch Flavian was deposed in defiance of St. Leo the Great. Photius laid the case before Nicolas I. A council was held in 862 at which the papal legates were present, and Ignatius was deposed with the consent of the Romans. Nicolas, on hearing what had happened, indignantly repudiated the action of his representative, and held a council at Rome, where Photius was excommunicated, with Zacharias, the papal legate, and Gregory, Bishop of Syracuse. All the ordinations of Photius were declared null and void, and the three Eastern Patriarchs were commanded to acknowledge Ignatius. Year after year the controversy continued. Michael tried to exert his authority, but the days when an Eastern Emperor could dictate to a Pope were ended. Nicolas taunts Michael with basely allowing his dominions to be overrun by Saracens, whilst he threatens Catholic Christians with the vain terrors of his arms. The Pope threatened that, if the Emperor persisted, his letter should be publicly burned in Rome. Photius, whose virtues seem to have endeared him to his people, held a council in 867 and retorted on Nicolas with counter anathemas. The Latins were charged with heresy in eight articles drawn up by the Patriarch: I. Fasting on Saturdays. II. Allowing milk and cheese to be eaten in Lent. III. Insisting on compulsory celibacy of the clergy. IV. Restricting the Chrism (Confirmation) to bishops. V. Saying that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father and the Son. VI. Promoting deacons direct to the episcopate. VII. Consecrating a lamb according to Jewish usage. VIII. Shaving the beards of the clergy. Thus the distinction between the Roman and the Eastern Church was emphasised, and the fatal *Filioque* controversy brought into prominence. The council further denied the papal supremacy,

declaring that all the privileges of Rome had passed to Constantinople.

On September 24, 867, Michael the Drunkard was murdered by his colleague Basil, a groom whom he had raised to the purple. Photius was deposed in favour of Ignatius who presided over Constantinople till his death in 877. But even Ignatius could not avoid disputes with Rome. A cause of dispute between the sees was as to whose jurisdiction the new church of Bulgaria belonged. At Constantinople Ignatius was evidently regarded as too deferential to Old Rome, and at his death Photius was restored, this time without serious opposition from John VIII, the next but one in succession to Nicolas I. Once more, in 886, Photius was deposed, but he was allowed to retire with honour. After the Ignatian controversy the relationship between Rome and Constantinople began to grow less, not so much on account of ecclesiastical difference as of circumstances. But the seeds of disunion were sown. Rome had asserted and Constantinople had rejected her supremacy, and the Easterns had brought against the Western Church the charge of tampering with the Creed. Rome had, however, in the person of Nicolas, enhanced her prestige by espousing the cause of innocence and showing a moral tone superior to that of the more civilized society of the Eastern Empire.

(2) The pontificate of Nicolas serves further to illustrate the power gained by the clergy in constituting themselves the custodians of the sanctity of the marriage bond. The extreme laxity of the Carolingian house laid them open to ecclesiastical censures, which were sometimes prudently withheld. Nicolas was not, however, restrained by caution, especially when, as in the case of Ignatius, the oppressed sought his aid. The Pope stood alone in defence of an injured woman against a king, the Emperor, and the entire hierarchy of northern Europe. The whole story is illustrative of the low morale of the Carolingian age. Lothair, King of Lorraine, brother of the Emperor Louis (850–875), had married Teutberga, daughter of Boso, Count of Burgundy. Being enamoured of a lady named Waldrada, he determined to rid himself of his wife and brought against her

an abominable charge of misbehaviour with her own brother Hubert, Abbot of St. Maurice. Teutberga demanded to be tried by the ordeal of hot water, and her champion emerged unscathed. But the judgment of heaven did not satisfy the bishops, and at Aix-la-Chapelle she was declared guilty, and Lothair legally married to Waldrada. All the great prelates supported Lothair, including the Archbishops of Cologne and Trèves, and Teutberga, who now desired no more than to retire into a convent, was forced to make a confession of her guilt. An appeal was made to Nicolas, who sent legates into Germany. A council was held at Metz (862) and the decrees of the former synod were ratified without opposition from the representatives of the Pope. The two archbishops went boldly to Rome as ambassadors of Lothair, to find that Nicolas repudiated the action of his legates, and that they themselves were excommunicated and deposed. The Emperor Louis, determined to avenge the insult to his brother, advanced on Rome to seize the person of the Pope. But Nicolas was undaunted, and in the end Lothair abandoned his episcopal friends; and at the Eighth General Council in 868 made abject submission to the next pontiff, Hadrian II.

(3) Even the greatest prelate among the Franks, Hincmar of Reims, had to bow to the imperious will of Nicolas. Hincmar was the greatest of the northern bishops, famed alike for his learning and character. His dispute with Nicolas was due to an appeal to Rome by Bishop Rothad of Soissons, whom Hincmar had deprived of his see. Nicolas insisted on his restoration and rebuked Hincmar for presuming to deprive a bishop without consulting Rome. Indeed he lost no opportunity of asserting the paramount authority of the Apostolic See over all bishops. But though he extorted submission from Hincmar, Nicolas recognized his eminent qualities and respected him for his ability.

Nothing can be more unjust than to judge a man by the results of actions which took generations to mature. True, the high-handed manner in which Nicolas treated Photius, and his contemptuous letters to the Emperor Michael III did much to alienate the Eastern Church; but at least it must be admitted

that, however disastrous its effects, his conduct was justified at the time. Nor can the Pope justly be made responsible for the fact that his firmness in the cause of an injured prelate in 860 was partly the cause of a schism which came to a head in 1054. He may more reasonably be charged with excessive arrogance in asserting the claims of Rome, and of haughtiness in his treatment of the northern bishops. Yet, when his times are considered, and the character of most of the prelates, imperious language may be pardoned in even a Christian pontiff. Hard words are at least better than violent deeds, and Nicolas confined himself to the spiritual weapon of severe reproof, nor did he ever encourage violence in others. Nor could his age have comprehended a gentler Pontiff. He is an example of how great a power for good a Pope could be who dared to play an honest part in days of social and moral anarchy. It has been necessary to dwell on his reign because in it the highest claims of Roman sovereignty were made, and also because hardly a generation after his death the dreadful condition of the Papacy and the barbarism of Rome proves what forces of evil he and his immediate successors held in check.

(4) The name of Nicolas I is always associated with the appearance of one of the most astonishing forgeries in history, which for nearly six centuries after his death exercised unquestioned authority in Western Christendom. Nor can anything illustrate better the mental condition of the age than the famous "False Decretals." Fortunately for centuries no serious historian has attempted to defend them, and they can be discussed without offence to any person who knows the facts. It must, however, be remembered that because a document is a forgery or, at least, not what it professes to be, it is not on that account unimportant to the historian. On the contrary it may be of far greater value than a genuine production, for the very fact that it has been deliberately manufactured and ascribed to an earlier age makes it of great value in estimating the ideas of the time at which it was fabricated. It matters therefore little whether the decrees ascribed to Popes Pius I or Melchiades were promulgated by them in comparison with the fact that

in the ninth century they were deemed of sufficient importance to be attributed to those venerable names. That the False Decretals laboured to prove that in every age popes had legislated for the Church is in itself a proof that at the time of their reception it was generally admitted or at any rate desired.

The Decretals are really a book of Church law, not the Canon law promulgated by Councils, but decrees issued by successive pontiffs as Bishops of Rome. They foreshadow what has finally been accepted only a generation or so ago, namely that the edict of a Pope ranks with the decree even of a General Council. Nothing can be more misleading than the notion that these Decretals were promulgated by Nicolas to exalt the importance of his office. It is tolerably certain that till within the last years of his pontificate he knew nothing about them, and it is an open question whether he ever used them. On the contrary it has been established that the forgery was not even Roman. The group of ecclesiastics who wished it to be true lived beyond the Alps, and therefore the fraud they perpetrated was to secure the papal authority in their own interests rather than for the benefit of the Roman See. The successors of Nicolas do not seem to have brought them into prominence till the pontificate of Bruno of Toul, a German who took the title of Leo IX in 1048.

The nucleus from which the False Decretals grew was a collection of letters or edicts of the popes commencing with Siricius at the close of the fourth century. This was made by Dionysius Exiguus at the beginning of the sixth century, and in the next century the famous Isidore of Seville published a collection of the decrees of the authentic councils. In the ninth century spurious collections began to make their appearance in Gaul, first the *Capitula Angilramni*, some seventy short chapters dealing with ecclesiastical questions, professedly given by Hadrian I to Angelramn, Bishop of Metz, or, according to some copies, by the Bishop, to Hadrian. Next Benedict Levita issued *Capitularies*, which he said were drawn up from the archives of the archdiocese of Mainz. These were followed by the Decretals themselves by Isidore Mercator (or Peccator),

who was popularly confused with Isidore of Seville. Hence they are often called the "Isidorian Decretals." These were drawn up at the request of the bishops and fall into three parts: I. The Apostolic Canons, some sixty-four Decretals from Clement of Rome to Melchiades (314), and the Donation of Constantine. II. Decrees of Councils from Nicæa to the Second Council of Seville (619). III. Decretals of Popes from Silvester to Gregory II. These were alluded to in the Frankish Councils of Soissons (853) and definitely cited at Quiercy (857), Fimes (881), and Metz (857), and the founders of the Canon Law in France speedily adopted then. Whether, therefore, Nicolas I used them, is here unimportant, especially as the question is both complicated and controversial, the point for the present being that the Decretals are a proof that, so far from there being a spirit of Gallicanism abroad among the majority of the clergy north of the Alps, there was a strong desire to strengthen the papal authority, possibly against the encroachment of the tyranny of the great feudal archbishops. The need of a strong central rule was generally felt, and the moral superiority of the Roman bishops was widely recognized, at any rate in the days of Nicolas and his two successors Hadrian II (867–872) and John VIII (872–882). Even in the darkest days of papal degradation the reverence for the office survived in a surprising manner outside Italy.

II. From Ireland and the shores of the Baltic to Carthage, which is from time to time mentioned as a Christian Church even in the tenth century, Latin was the language of devotion. It is from Latin Chronicles and Charters that we glean the scanty records of the Dark Ages, nor were they entirely destitute of literature which has endured to this day; and, if corrupt, Latin was assuredly a living language. The classical model on which pure Latinity is based was probably never adopted by the people, and the Church deliberately used the popular dialect for the edification of their flocks. Thus the strong common sense of Gregory the Great is shown in his refusal to attempt to follow the rules of the grammarians in his writings, his object being to make himself clear and intelligible.

His namesake and contemporary, Gregory of Tours, was even more reckless in his disregard of form and accidence, yet his story is most readable. In Italy and Gaul the *sermo plebeius* (to use Tertullian's phrase) was in process of formation, and enabled Latin to hold its own as the ecclesiastical language, and also to be the common vehicle for the interchange of ideas. Nor does there appear to have been the slightest desire for a language intelligible to the people in the services of the Church. The Mass was becoming more and more the affair of the priest, with the congregation adoring in silence, and perhaps in ignorance. Nor did severance from Rome and Italy break the ecclesiastical employment of Latin. Indeed neither in Wales nor Ireland did it ever fall out of use. This fact was of immense service in maintaining a bond of union throughout Christendom. The rapid disappearance of Greek in Rome and throughout northern Italy is as remarkable as the universal retention of Latin, especially when it is borne in mind that till the middle of the eighth century the Byzantine Greeks were rulers in Rome. Ireland seems to have been the one home of the study of Greek in the Western Church. The monks were by no means friendly to the classical authors, and read them with misgivings; nevertheless they preserved them.

The Roman Law survived in compilations among some of the barbarians, but was not studied in its integrity, and remained in a measure the law of the provincials in parts of the Empire under Germanic sway: for each conquering nation carried with it its own laws and customs. The Church's part in continuing the tradition of the Roman Law partly consisted in its embodying in the Canon Law all the legislation affecting the Church of the Emperors since the days of Constantine. But the important fact to be borne in mind is that the Church and the Church alone conserved the two elements which it had received from the Empire, language and law, and by so doing made a recrudescence of civilization possible.

III. The necessity of maintaining the doctrines of the Christian faith unimpaired led to the stimulation of some intellectual interest, and controversies may be cited as giv-

ing indication of mental activity. The Monothelite heresy, which turned on the mysterious question of whether in Christ the divine and human energy operated separately or in one Will, had to be explained to and repudiated by the British Church in the seventh century. The Frankish Church was deeply moved by the heresy of Elipandus of Toledo concerning the Adoption of the Son, an error which arose in the West, and employed a characteristically Latin notion. For the ninth century the question of predestination was raised by Gotteschalk who adopted extreme Augustinian views which were not consonant with the growing ecclesiasticism of the age. There was in addition the *Filioque* controversy about the procession of the Holy Spirit; and the Westerns were beginning to defend their unauthorized addition to the Creed of the Universal Church. But more important than any of these was the interest taken in the doctrine of the Eucharist. Already the two views of the change in the Elements by which the Body and Blood of Christ were given to the Church were a cause of division. Ratramnus, following John Scotus Eriugena, favoured the Augustinian opinion as to the importance of faith in the recipient, and was opposed by Paschasius Radbert who maintained the more popular explanation that the change was wrought by a miracle performed by the consecrating priest. The doctrine of transubstantiation, originating in the Eastern Church from the days of St. Basil and the Cappadocian Fathers and further developed by St. John of Damascus, was in process of formation. Already a feeling was manifested that the mystery was profaned by extreme literalism in explanation, and the way was being prepared for the development of an interpretation more in accordance with the philosophy of the time. When all the troubles of the ages are considered, the wonder is, not that learning sunk so low, but that so much mental activity was possible: for, almost unnoticed, ideas were shaping themselves which were destined to materialise in the wonderful civilization of Latin Christendom, which was destined to have so many permanent effects. It is but just to apply to these so-called Dark Ages the motto *Post tenebras lux.*

IV. Even greater is the debt due to the men of this sorely tried generation for the development of the Christian services of devotion. The writers of the Dark Ages made verses in wearisome profusion, some bad, some tolerable, hardly any poetical; and almost every Pope has his epithet in elegiacs. But side by side with this verse making was a development of a new poetry. What classicism is found in Christian writers is as a rule frigid and artificial; but the devotion of the Church provided a language, a rhythm, and metres all its own. The Christian hymns begin to appear in the days of the decay of Latin literature; but these are not decadent: they are the vehicle of new thoughts, new emotions, new aspirations. Among the greatest treasures of devotion is the Breviary, the outcome of the monasticism of the period. Originally the devotion of the ascetic was the Psalter; but, as the recitation of psalms tended to become but a vain repetition, it was varied by lections from the Old and New Testament, the lives of Saints, the sermons of fathers, collects and anthems. A system of reasonable worship was being elaborated, at any rate for the cloister.

By the end of the ninth century, therefore, the papal authority was widely recognised; but, with the disappearance of the Carolingians, Rome became the prey to barbarism and disorder. The number of popes in a century is an almost certain indication of the state of Rome. Thus in the seventh century twenty-one pontiffs were elected; in the eighth, when the Carolingians were rising to power, twelve; in the ninth century, the period of their decay, eleven; in the days of anarchy, between 882 and 1046, forty-one.

A long and dreary period has now to be considered, during which the popes at times sunk to almost unimaginable depths of infamy, though in the end the Papacy emerged full of power to establish its sway over the whole of Western Europe. The painful story needs only to be briefly told, as the scandals of the Church serve no end but to prove its inherent vitality. The last great scion of the Carolingians was Arnulf, an illegitimate son of Carloman, King of Bavaria. In his reign over Germany (888–899) some of the vigour of Charles the Great

appears. He more than once invaded Italy, and was crowned as Emperor by Formosus in 896. This pope is one of the most interesting in the list of obscure pontiffs of the age. He was bishop of Portus, and had been sent as a missionary to the Bulgarians where he was in high favour with their king Boris. His election had been tumultuous and irregular, for it was contrary to all precedent that a bishop should be made pope. He was unpopular as a partisan of the Germans, and at his death an extraordinary scene was enacted illustrative of his age. Stephen VI, his successor, had his body exhumed. Dressed in papal habiliments the corpse was accused of, as bishop of Portus, usurping the Roman See. It was then stripped of its vestments, three fingers were cut off, and the body was thrown into the Tiber. Pope Stephen was soon afterwards strangled in prison, and under the brief pontificate of Theodore II Formosus was reinstated and buried in St. Peter's. As the body was carried into the Church, the images reverentially bowed their heads.

After Arnulf's death the German influence in Italy became negligible, and the Roman See, too weak to maintain itself, fell into the hands of the neighbouring Counts of Tusculum. For a time two noble but immoral ladies, Theodora and her daughter Marozia, made and unmade popes at their pleasure. Into the bewildering story of the intrigues, marriages (often flagrantly irregular), murders, and other crimes of the princes of this age, it is unnecessary to enter; and one may pass on to the death of Alberic who, after having been the virtual ruler of Rome for twenty-two years, bequeathed his authority to his son Octavian. Two years after his father's death Octavian procured his election as pope, thus at the age of nineteen becoming head of the Church and civil ruler of the City (November, 955). He was one of the first popes to change his name on his accession, and is known as John XII.

The condition of Europe in the tenth century was truly appalling. On all sides Northmen, Slavonians, Hungarians were ravaging the country whilst there seemed grave danger of Italy, and Gaul, being submerged under the flood of Mohammedanism. Slowly and gradually was the tide turning,

partly owing to the fact that the fortified feudal castles offered a refuge during the constant raids of the barbarians, and also to the vigour shewn by the Christian mission. Of this age it may truly be said that the castle and the monastery proved the salvation of the embers of civilization. The rise of a strong German dynasty contributed to this end when the Dukes of Saxony established themselves as sovereigns. Henry the Fowler (920–936) and his son, Otto I, defeated the Danes, Slavonians and Hungarians; and Otto was finally crowned as Emperor at Rome. His power continued under his sons and namesakes Otto II (978–983) and Otto III (983–1002), and the period during which they laboured to restrain the disorders of Italy and restore the order and glory of Charles the Great is often known as the "age of the Ottos."

The rise of the house of Saxony in Germany gave things a turn for the better, but it was only temporary, and its extinction gave further proof of the indispensable need of the Roman Church for the support of a strong Emperor living outside Italy.

John XII (955–963) was never more than a boy during his, for this century, long pontificate. He was in the difficult position of a Pope with an hereditary claim to rule the Romans, and he was fitted neither by his character nor his abilities for the task. Accordingly, in 961, he sought the aid of the German King, as his predecessors had summoned Pippin and Charles two centuries before. But he lacked the moral dignity of the second and third Gregories, or Zacharias. He has been described as a perfect monster of iniquity, but his chief traducer Liutprand, Bishop of Cremona, delights too much in scandal to be trusted implicitly. But after making every allowance for John XII, as a lad placed on the papal throne without experience, he seems to have been vicious and unprincipled, totally unfit for the humblest clerical office. Otto came as the saviour of Europe and the reformer of the Church. He delivered the Pope from his domestic enemies, but insisted upon a certain decency being maintained.

The Pope was denounced by the clergy to the Emperor.

He was accused of turning his palace into a brothel, of ordaining a deacon in a stable, of saying Mass without himself communicating, of simony, of consecrating a boy of ten a bishop, of wearing armour, of hunting publicly, of calling on the Demons Venus and Mercury, when playing dice, of not saying Mass or the canonical hours, of not using the sign of the cross in blessing himself, and of arson. The strange mixture of gross sins and trivial offences is characteristic of the age. An imperial nominee was consecrated pope as Leo VIII; but when Otto left Rome, John XII called a rival council at which many of his own accusers were present and, with their consent, launched counter anathemas against his enemies.

Less than two years after John XII's death, Otto appointed John, Bishop of Narni, a man of learning and experience, who reigned from 965 to 972. By him Otto I was crowned Emperor on Christmas Day 967. That all popes of this century cannot be involved in one general condemnation is shewn by John XIII who was known as "the Good." Otto I himself died on May 7, 973; and, as illustrative of the ferocity of the Romans, when the strong hand of the emperor was removed, the successor of John XIII, Benedict VI, was murdered within about a year. Indeed nothing can better illustrate the insecurity of the popes than the fact that between 955 and 985, less than thirty years, Benedict V died in exile in Germany, Benedict VI was murdered, John XIV died in prison, and his rival Boniface VII was supposed to have been poisoned, and his dead body was certainly foully outraged. Three popes only died a natural death. At the close of the century Otto III decided to try the experiment of infusing fresh blood into Rome by procuring the election of a German pope. He selected a kinsman of his own, Bruno, son of the Duke of Carinthia, a great-grandson of Otto I. This pontiff was educated at Worms, and he was able to preach in German and Italian—almost the first notice of the language—as well as in Latin.

But Rome could not tolerate a German pope and an attempt was made by Crecentius, perhaps a descendant of the famous Marozia, to establish a Republic. He even entered into

negotiations with Constantinople to place Rome in the hands of the Greeks and actually selected an antipope, John Philagathus, Bishop of Piacenza, who took the title of John XVI. In the end the revolution was put down. The terrible fate of the antipope again lets light upon the barbarity of the times. Those who arrested him "fearing he might not be sufficiently punished," cut off his nose and ears and plucked out his eyes and tongue. In this awful condition he was dressed in his vestments and publicly degraded. The Romans then put him on an ass with his face to the tail and drove it through the city shouting, "Thus let the man suffer who has endeavoured to drive the pope from his See." He was then imprisoned in a monastery; and actually lived for fourteen years. In justice to the age, S. Nilus, one of the few saints of the time, refused to hold further intercourse with the Emperor who had allowed such a thing to happen. The next German pope was the celebrated Gerbert, who took the title Sylvester II, implying thereby that he and the emperor would restore the Church like Constantine and Sylvester I. But Otto III, the idealistic youth who had hoped to do so much, died in 1002, and Sylvester in the following year, and for nearly fifty years an even darker day set in for the See of Rome.

The intervention of the Ottos had been powerless to raise the Papacy from its degradation; for, on the extinction of the Saxon dynasty, the popes' condition was worse than it had been before its intervention in Italy. The Chair of Peter, in fact, became the private property of the Counts of Tusculum, descendants, like so many others, of Marozia, and three successive memebers of this family occupied the Chair of St. Peter. Two of them, Benedict VIII (1012–1024) and John XIX (1024–1033), if not pious bishops, were at least energetic and capable rulers; but the third may safely be placed among the worst of the popes. Appointed as a child of ten or twelve years old Benedict IX is said to have behaved like one of the more monstrous pagan Emperors. Wearied by his infamies the Romans chose an antipope, Sylvester III; and in 1046 Benedict IX, tired of his office, shamelessly put it up for sale. The purchaser

was the arch-presbyter John, who took the name Gregory VI, a wealthy man, who was perhaps guilty of a wrong act with not altogether unworthy motives. At any rate he tried to recover the papal estates for the See and to repress the flagrant robbery of the pilgrims who still flocked to the disorderly, but still holy, city. Benedict IX's family did not acquiesce in his nefarious bargain, and reinstated him as pope, and Gregory from St. Peter's denounced his rival Benedict in the Lateran. Thus matters stood in 1048 when the Emperor Henry II made Sylvester III a prisoner for life in a monastery, and forced Benedict VIII to resign all his claims to the See. Gregory was also deposed and taken to Germany and interned in a monastery with his friend Hildebrand, destined years later to take the name of the simoniacal pope, and to wage unrelenting war against the sin of Simon Magus.

It may be permissible in forming a judgment of this disastrous period of papal history to utter a few reminders. (1) That despite all the scandals of the time the papal authority did not diminish. Events at Rome were powerless to lessen the respect for the office. Pilgrims of all ranks flocked to the tombs of the apostles; and that their visit to Rome did not always produce merely superstitious reverence is shown by the noble letter of Canute, King of England, who was actually in the City in the days of the Tusculan Popes, and must have witnessed a slaughter of the Romans by the German troops of the Emperor Conrad the Salic. But in a letter to the English people the king expresses his sorrow for his former sins and exactions, and promises to rule them in future more justly, showing how deep a religious impression a visit to the City had made on his mind. Doubtless the distant nations knew little of what went on in distant Rome, but news can travel far and fast in uncivilized lands, and the worst scandals are related by hostile ecclesiastics or prejudiced pietists. (2) The popes are rarely charged with gross immorality, and a John XII or Benedict IX are the exceptions, not the rule. On the whole, the popes of the Dark Ages were more sinned against than sinning as the number who were murdered abundantly testify. (3) Their corre-

spondence with other Churches reveals that they were by no means indifferent to the welfare of Christianity generally, and (4) they are in no instance responsible, as were some at a later date, of stirring up strife between nations; possibly this may be due to lack of power, but the fact remains. (5) Even in the tenth century popes like Gregory V rebuked the sins of great men like Robert, king of France.

Finally the remarkable revival not merely of papal power but of religion is a sure proof that the corruption of the Roman Church in its darkest days has been exaggerated. When an evil age succeeds to a period of greatness one may reasonably infer that the seeds the bitter fruit of which the next generation reaped were sown when all seemed fair and flourishing.

Two results of the Dark Ages may be considered in conclusion. (a) The Church entered them semi-pagan and emerged wholly Christian. That is to say that, as the literature and culture of the old age waned, the vigorous Christian body ceased to borrow from either, and developed something entirely its own. That it needed to be again leavened by the older culture is undeniable; but it set men on the track of founding a society on a basis professedly Christian. This distinguishes medieval from modern civilization. (b) The sufferings of the Roman Church at the hands of the State whether Roman, Byzantine, Gothic, Lombard, or Italian, made an ineradicable impression on the Papacy. From the time of its revival one idea consistently animated the institution—never to allow the secular power to dominate it. This was the cause of the furious fight with the German Roman Emperors, of its breaking down any attempt to unite Italy under a single head, of war with a king so devoted to its service as Philip II of Spain. In recent times it has shown itself in its hostility to Garibaldi, Victor Emmanuel, and all who desired to make Italy one, in its persistent determination never to surrender its claim to temporal power, in its readiness to support any nation ready to encourage the hope that the popes may one day again rule central Italy. So enduring has been the terror inspired by Leo the Isaurian, the Lombard kings, the rulers of Tuscany, the Counts of Tus-

culum, the descendants of Theodora and Marozia. To this day the determination of the Papacy to be a sovereign power is a menace to the peace of the world.

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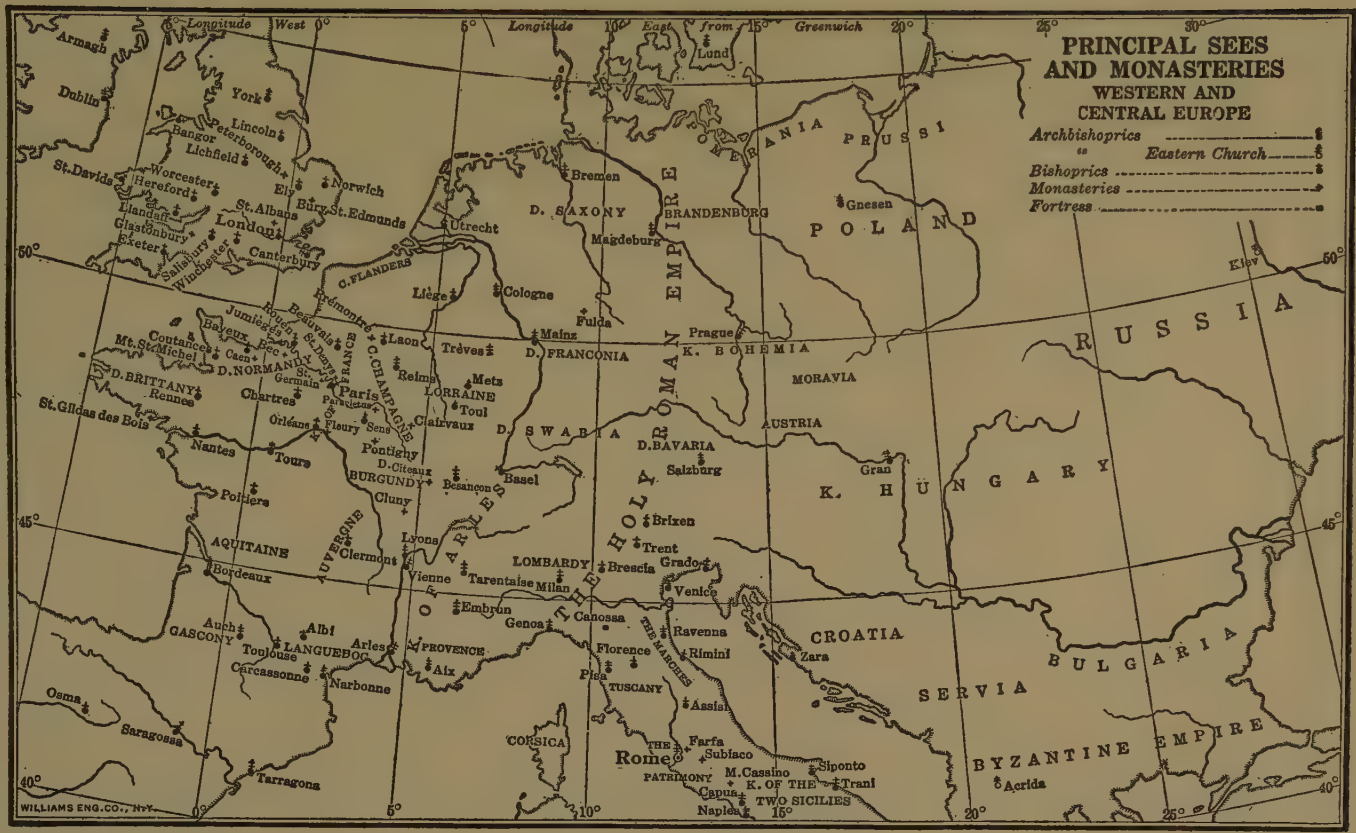
CHAPTER IV

THE CHURCH EMPIRE OF THE WEST

Loss and gain of the Church — The Church a reproduction of the Empire — The Roman — Provinces of Gaul — Arles — Embrun and Aix — Narbonne — Auch — Tarentaise — Vienne — Bourges — Besançon — Lyons — Sens — Trèves (Trier) — Cologne — Reims — Rouen Provinces beyond the Rhine — Mainz — Magdeburg — Hamburg and Bremen. Vast church principalities of Germany. Northern Italy — Milan — Ravenna — Patriarchate of Aquileia. No archbishops in Central Italy. South Italian Archbishoprics. Spain — Ancient divisions and sees — Toledo — Tarragona — Valentia — Saragossa — Granada — Elvira. Portugal. England. Scotland and Ireland. Scandinavia — Conversion of the Northmen — Denmark — Lund — Trondheim — Conversion of Norway. Conversion of Eastern Europe. Conversion of the Slavs — Cyril and Methodius — Moravia — Bohemia. Hungary. Poland. Germans and Slavs. Russia. Eastern Church — The Patriarchates — Primacy of Rome — The Church of Rome — Policy of Rome during the Middle Ages — The Papal Court — The Cardinals — The Consistory — Legates.

A clue to the understanding of the Middle Ages is found by bearing in mind that the Church reproduced and continued the Roman Empire, and even when the last shadow of the imperial government had disappeared the ecclesiastical provinces remained virtually the same as the ancient civil divisions which had existed at the close of the fourth century. This, as will be shown, was particularly true of Roman Gaul, the archbishoprics of which from the eighth century onward were practically identical with the provinces in the days of Theodosius the Great, and even of Diocletian. In the East the same phenomenon is observable; and it may be broadly asserted that the Church Empire reproduced that of Rome.

The enquiry about to be undertaken may be tedious but is certainly desirable. To survey the Christian world is a necessary preliminary to comprehending the course of events during many centuries. The Church was an organization, so widespread, so compact, and yet so complex, that the policy of


PRINCIPAL SEES AND MONASTERIES
WESTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPE
Archbishoprics
Eastern Church
Bishoprics
Monasteries
Fortress
Longitude West from Greenwich
Longitude East from Greenwich
Armagh
Dublin
York
Lincoln
Peterborough
Bangor
Lichfield
Worcester
Hereford
St.Davids
Ely
Norwich
Bury St.Edmunds
St.Albans
London
Canterbury
Llandaff
Glastonbury
Exeter
Salisbury
Winchester
Lund
POMERANIA
PRUSSI
Bremen
D. SAXONY
BRANDENBURG
Gnesen
POLAND
Utrecht
Magdeburg
Kiev
RUSSIA
C.FLANDERS
Liège
Cologne
Fulda
Mainz
Prague
K. BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
Laon
Trèves
D. FRANCONIA
Reims
Metz
LORRAINE
Toul
Clairvaux
Paris
Chartres
Rennes
D. BRITTANY
D. NORMANDY
Caen
Bayeux
Coutances
Mt. St. Michel
St. Gildas des Bois
Nantes
Tours
Orléans
Fleury
Sens
Pontigny
D. Citeaux
BURGUNDY
Besançon
Basel
Cluny
Poitiers
D. SWABIA
AUSTRIA
D.BAVARIA
Salzburg
Gran
K. HUNGARY
Brixen
Trent
Grado
Brescia
LOMBARDY
Milan
Venice
Ravenna
Rimini
Zara
CROATIA
BULGARIA
SERVIA
BYZANTINE EMPIRE
Lyons
Vienne
Tarentaise
Embrun
Genoa
Canossa
Florence
Pisa
TUSCANY
THE MARCHES
Assisi
Farfa
Subiaco
Rome
THE PATRIMONY
M.Cassino
K. OF THE TWO SICILIES
Capua
Naples
Siponto
Trani
Acerida
AQUITAINE
Clermont
Bordeaux
Auch
GASCONY
Albi
Toulouse
LANGUEDOC
Carcassonne
Narbonne
Arles
PROVENCE
Aix
Osma
Saragossa
Tarragona
CORSICA
WILLIAMS ENG.CO., N.Y.

Europe throughout the Middle Ages is unintelligible unless some idea is prsented as to its divisions, its boundaries, and its government.

The Church Empire had, on the one hand, shrunk, and on the other expanded as compared with the imperial dominions of ancient Rome. At the time of the coronation of Charles the whole southern coast of the Mediterranean was in the hands of the infidels; and Syria and the East were no longer predominantly Christian. On the other hand the Church was extending its frontiers by adding Europe east of the Rhine, and northward to the Baltic. The time was not far off when Russia and the Scandinavian lands were to become Christian. There had also long been a vigorous thrust of missionary effort eastward, and the Gospel had been carried as far as China. Even the inrush of the Mohammedans did not check the expansive power of Christianity, which in the darkest days of civilization was a successful missionary religion; though from the twelfth to the fifteenth century the territory occupied by it seemed to recede rather than to advance.

In the present chapter special attention will be devoted to the Church of Western Europe, first within, then outside the ancient limits of the Roman Empire. To describe the non-Roman provinces of the Church it will be necessary to consider how these were added to its Empire and to dwell for a brief space on Christian missionary activities. Finally an attempt must be made to explain the method of ecclesiastical administration and especially the constitution of its centre, the Church of Rome.

Roman Gaul, which was bounded by the Rhine, may first be considered because here the provincial divisions of the ancient Empire were most closely reproduced in the jurisdictions of the archbishops who possessed authority over the bishops of the "dioceses" which composed their "provinces." By a curious inversion, these words, borrowed from the imperial administration, meant exactly the opposite in the ecclesiastical from what they had signified in the secular world, where a "diocese" implied a collection of "provinces."

I. The provinces of Gaul west of the Rhine were:

Colonia Agrippina	= Cologne	corresponding roughly to			Germania I in A.D. 390
Trēviri	= Trèves	"	"	"	Belgica I
Vesontio	= Besançon	"	"	"	Maxima Sequanorum
Darentasia	= Tarentaise	"	"	"	Alpes Peninæ et Graiæ
Eburodum	= Embrun	"	"	"	Alpes Maritimæ
Remi	= Reims	"	"	"	Belgica II
Lugdunum	= Lyons	"	"	"	Lugdunensis I
Vienna	= Vienne	"	"	"	Viennensis
Aquæ Sextiæ	= Aix	"	"	"	Narbonensis I
Arelate	= Arles	"	"	"	Narbonensis II
Narbona	= Narbonne				
Elimberris, or Augusta Auchorum	= Auch	"	"	"	Novempopulana
Bituricæ	= Bourges	"	"	"	Aquitanica I
Burdegala	= Bordeaux	"	"	"	Aquitanica II
Turones	= Tours	"	"	"	Lugdunensis III
Rotomagus	= Rouen	"	"	"	Lugdunensis II
Senones	= Sens	"	"	"	Lugdunensis IV

The history of the ecclesiastical provinces of Gaul begins with that of Arles, a see since 1802 no longer in existence. Once it was most important, not only because Arles was in the fifth century the chief city of southern Gaul, but on account of its famous bishops, and its contest for supremacy with the bishops of Vienne and Narbonne. Arles was an important episcopal see in early Christian times, but in the Middle Ages except in giving the name to the Burgundian *regnum Aretalense*, it did not play a great part in history. Julius Cæsar had granted it privileges as a Roman colony, founded by his lieutenant Tiberius Claudius Nero; and it was evidently a great commercial centre enjoying the favour of successive Emperors. Constantine chose it as a place of residence, and for a time it assumed his name and was known as Constantina. This may account for its having been selected by him for the first Christian council held under imperial patronage in 314. Ecclesiastically it comes into prominence during the pontificate of Zosimus (417–418), when it had succeeded Trèves as the seat of government in Gaul. Zosimus made its bishop, Proculus, into

a sort of papal legate, giving him jurisdiction over the neighbouring provinces. Its famous bishop Hilary of Arles stood out for the independence of his see in the days of Leo the Great, and he was for a time forced by the Pope to confine himself to his own city; but the next Pope Hilarius (461–468) again recognised Arles as a leading see; and in the beginning of the sixth century, in 513, the bishop Cæsarius received the pall from Pope Symmachus, this being the first time on record of such an honour being bestowed as a sign of archiepiscopal dignity. Cæsarius acted throughout his occupancy of the see as the papal representative of Gaul; and in the days of Gregory the Great, it was at the hands of Vigilius, Archbishop of Arles, that Augustine obtained consecration. After this the papal connection with Arles became less close, and the importance of the province diminished. Its territory was gradually reduced till it became one of the least prominent of the French provinces. It was in early days the most important centre of papal influence in Gaul. The other southern provinces were Embrun, Aix, Narbonne and Auch. Embrun and Aix were made archbishoprics in 794; but in 1791 the former ceased even to be the see of a bishop, and was placed under the charge of the bishop of Gap, so that its cathedral is now no more than a parish church. The modern archdiocese is Aix, which includes, as has been indicated, the more celebrated and ancient province of Arles.

Like Embrun, Narbonne has fallen from its high estate and become a church in the diocese of Carcassonne; but down to the time of the Albigensian crusade in the thirteenth century the Archbishop was a prelate of great influence, his authority extending into the Spanish peninsula, and he had the legal right of presiding over the estates of Languedoc. The traditional founder of Narbonne was Paulus, in whom tradition found Sergius Paulus, the distinguished convert of St. Paul. According to Gregory of Tours, however, he was one of the missionaries who came to Gaul at the time of the persecution of Decius in the third century.

The fourth southern metropolitan see was Auch (Elimberris,

Augusta Auchorum). Its history, if more continuous than those enumerated, is not of particular interest, though down to 1789 the Archbishop enjoyed the title of Primate of Aquitaine.

Starting again from east to west were the provinces of Tarentaise, Vienne, Bourges, and Bordeaux. Tarentaise was recognised as a metropolitan see with three suffragans by Leo III (793–816), but in subordination to the Archbishop of Vienne. The province was part of the territory which was alternately held by France and Savoy, and since 1860 has belonged to France. In 1181 the Archbishop was declared by Frederick Barbarossa to be a Prince of the Empire. The ancient city Darantasia was destroyed by the Saracens in the tenth century, and the bishops removed to the right bank of the river Isère and their new home was known as Moustier (the monastery). Hence the see is sometimes known as Moustier en Tarentaise. After 1791 it ceased to be an archdiocese, and is now in the province of Chambery.

Like Tarentaise, the more famous archepiscopal see of Vienne has disappeared; and now is a town in the diocese of Grenoble, though the primate of the next province has been styled since the Concordat of 1801 "Archbishop of Lyons and Vienne." In early times there was great ecclesiastical rivalry between Vienne and Arles; and as early as 450 Leo the Great gave the Bishop of Vienne the power of ordaining the bishops of Tarentaise, Valence, Geneva and Grenoble. The see produced a goodly crop of saints—most of its early bishops were canonized—one pope, Guy of Burgundy (Callistus II), 1119 to 1124, was archbishop from 1084 to 1119. He was a son of William the Great (Tête Hardie), Count of Burgundy, and was a near relation of almost every sovereign in Europe. On his election as pontiff he confesses that he was abandoning a poor archbishopric with great regret for "an honourable but most grievous burthen"; for everybody in Burgundy was either his relation or his dependent. As his dispute with St. Hugh Bishop of Grenoble shows, Archbishop Guy was vigorous in advancing the power of Vienne; nor did he forget his old home as Pope. He gave into the Archbishop's authority as suffragans the

Bishops of Grenoble, Valence, Die, Viviers, Geneva and Maurienne; he placed the Archbishop of Tarentaise under him and gave him primacy over the provinces of Bourges, Narbonne, Bordeaux, Aix, Auch, and Embrun with the title of Primate of Primates. The Archbishop of Vienne was also Count and Archchancellor of the Kingdom of Arles, when it became united to the Empire.

Eastward of Vienne lay the immense province of Bourges, the largest in medieval France. This and the neighbouring provinces were rivals for the primacy of Aquitaine, though the name of the district as a political division had disappeared after the thirteenth century.

Again, working from east to west, are the provinces of Besançon, Lyons, Sens, and Tours. Besançon (Vesontio) was not the metropolitan see of the modern province, which included Verdun and Toul, and, till 1870, Metz; but its jurisdiction extended into Switzerland over the Sees of Lausanne and Bâle.

The venerable see of Lyons (Lugdunum), the scene of the persecution in 177, has been continuously an important Christian centre. It was probably founded as a Greek speaking church by Asiatic Christians. Situated at the confluence of the Rhone and the Saone, the city has always been a leading commercial centre. At the end of the sixth century it was the capital of the ancient kingdom of Burgundy. Under Charles the Great, its Archbishop Leidrade and his successor, the "Chorepiscopus," Agobard were the great opponents of the Adoptianist heresy. It was the scene of several councils and was in April, 1079 given the primacy over the provinces of Tours, Sens and Rouen. The Archbishop in the twelfth century exercised considerable temporal power, confirmed by the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. The see was renowned for its peculiar "use" in the liturgy, and was the capital of the Gallican rite; and in the thirteenth century it was almost a second Rome. It was troubled alike by the Waldensians, the Poor men of Lyons, and in the days of the Reformation by the Calvinists. At Lyons in 1128 the Feast of the Immaculate Conception

was first celebrated; and the introduction of this unauthorized festival drew down a reproof from St. Bernard.

The Archbishopric of Sens (Senones) in the twelfth century included Paris, which was not raised to metropolitan rank till 1622. Both sees, however, were of ancient origin; and Sens acknowledged in a measure the primacy of Reims. Eastwards of Sens lay the province of Tours. The archbishop's see received lustre from having been founded by St. Gatien, one of the twelve missionaries to Gaul in the third century and from having been occupied by St. Martin, the most popular of Gallican saints, and by the historian Gregory of Tours. Its jurisdiction extended over Touraine and Britanny, and it was regarded as one of the most important in France. Till the reign of Philip Augustus, the archbishop had the right of coining money. The monasteries and relics of Tours made the city especially famous.

The last four archbishoprics of Gaul still working from eastward to west were Trèves, Cologne, Reims and Rouen.

When Gaul is spoken of it must never be confused with France, for many of the provinces thus far enumerated were outside the limits of the modern kingdom. Trèves, now thoroughly German, was the capital of Roman Gaul, and was one of the most important cities in the Western Empire. Like so many of the medieval provinces of Gaul Trèves has fallen from its estate as an archbishopric and has become a suffragan see under Cologne. But till the beginning of the nineteenth century it was one of the greatest of sees in northern Europe. The archbishop was Archchancellor of the Empire, a prince, and one of the seven electors: with the primate of Germany (Mainz) and the Archbishop of Cologne, he ranked among the sovereign princes of Europe.

To the Archbishop of Cologne belonged since the twelfth century the dignity of Imperial Chancellor for Italy, and the city was sometimes called the northern Rome. The history of the Archbishops of Cologne in the Middle Ages may be described as one of great princes who were constantly occupied with aggrandising their position in the Empire, for in addition

to their ecclesiastical office they were Dukes of Westphalia, a title first bestowed on Philip I of Heinsburg (1167–1191). St. Ingelbert was the only prelate whose influence was distinctly religious, the archbishops being as a rule powerful nobles.

The western neighbour of Cologne was Reims, the primatial see of France. The Archbishop was specially distinguished by having the sole right to crown the kings of France. On such occasions he and his suffragans the Bishop-Dukes of Laon and Langres, and the Bishop-Counts of Beauvais, Chalons, and Noyon officiated as the six spiritual peers of France, the temporal being the Dukes of Burgundy, Guienne, and Normandy, and the Counts of Champagne, Flanders, and Toulouse. The splendid cathedral took from 1211 to 1311 to complete; and its tragic fate is one of the most melancholy incidents of the recent war. The Benedictine Monastery of St. Remi was extra-diocesan, like Westminster Abbey in England. In it was preserved the sacred *ampulla* containing the oil wherewith St. Remigius had anointed Clovis.

The last see in Roman Gaul to be here enumerated is Rouen. The pallium was granted to Grimo by Pope Zacharias in 744 and the archbishops claimed the primacy of Normandy and Neustria, and acknowledged no higher authority, except that of Rome. Curiously enough the chapter was like the Archbishopric independent of all control but that of the Pope. Under the Norman and Plantagenet kings Rouen was naturally closely connected with England.

Outside Gaul on the east of the Rhine lay the large ecclesiastical provinces of Germany beyond the frontiers of the ancient Roman Empire. The first organizer of the Papal Empire in this district was that truly remarkable English missionary Winfrid or Boniface of Crediton, successively Archbishop of Cologne (745) and Mainz (748), and finally a missionary and martyr in Rhenish Prussia. His activity as an organizer began in Bavaria, where he set up the four bishoprics of Salzburg, Freising, Ratisbon and Passau (739). After the death of Charles Martel he established bishoprics in Franconia at Würzburg, Eichstätt, and Buraburg.

From the time of Boniface Mainz or Mayence, the ancient Moguntium, became the primatial see of Germany. The jurisdiction of the Archbishop extended from the borders of modern Italy to Hamburg, and in our period included Bavaria, the duchy of Austria, and Styria.

In 841 a missionary province was created at Hamburg, which was intended to include the unconverted Scandinavian lands; but the metropolitan see was finally settled at Bremen, and by the establishment of the northern provinces of Lund, Drontheim, and Upsala its jurisdiction was greatly restricted. A later province was that of Magdeburg founded by Otto I in 968 for the Wendish lands beyond the Elbe and Saale.

A study of the map of medieval Germany reveals the immense territorial power of the Church. Not merely the electoral archbishops, but many of their suffragans, exercised princely authority over a great part of the Empire and the great abbots also enjoyed sovereign rights. Thus, west of the Rhine, Cambray, Liege, Trèves, Cologne, Metz, Strassburg, Verdun, Toul, Basel, Sion (Sitten) and the Abbey of Mirbach, were all ecclesiastical principalities. In the north the Bishops of Bremen, Utrecht, Minden, Münster, Paderborn, Osnabrück—George III's son, the Duke of York, was lay Bishop of Osnabrück—were rulers of considerable districts. The abbots of Hersfeld and Fulda enjoyed similar privileges; and, of course, the civil jurisdiction of such prelates as Mainz, Salzburg and Magdeburg, to mention only metropolitan sees, were very extensive. It is sufficient to say that, owing to the policy of Otto I, a large part of the German Empire was directly governed by ecclesiastical princes, and to emphasize the importance of this fact in estimating the strength and weakness of the Church within the confines of the Empire.

To return to the boundaries of the Roman Empire, the Western Church had its provinces in northern Italy, Spain and Britain.

The provinces of Italy present a difficult problem, complicated by the fact that the south repeatedly passed under different masters—Greeks, Lombards, Saracens, Normans,

Germans, Angevins and Spaniards. In northern Italy four provinces were comparatively modern; Pisa was detached from Rome in 1092, Genoa from Milan in 1133, whilst Florence did not become an archbishopric till 1420, nor Siena till 1459. The first pair of provinces, Genoa and Pisa, divided Corsica between them. There remain therefore three provinces north of Rome, two in Cisalpine Gaul, Milan (Mediolanum), Aquileia, and Ravenna.

Milan was the governmental capital of Italy in the fourth century, and the scene of the labours of St. Ambrose which gave the see an enduring reputation throughout the Catholic Church. With its great traditions and its famous Ambrosian liturgy, this church enjoyed an eminence enhanced by the high character of many occupants of the see, representing as it did the traditions of the Lombard nation. Ravenna for a longer period than Milan was a capital city, having been the seat of government of the western Emperors of the fifth century, and of the Exarchs at a later period. From the days of the Emperor Valentinian III, in the fifth century, the Archbishop had fourteen bishops under him. Its Archbishops had disputed the preeminence of Rome itself; and its churches are among the most venerable in Italy. The authority of the Patriarch of Aquileia extended over Venetia, as did that of the Archbishop of Milan over Lombardy. In the days of the Lombard invasion the Patriarch removed to Grado; and owing to the schism due to the Three Chapters controversy, there was a dispute as to which city was the seat of the Patriarchate. Istria was included in this ecclesiastical province.

The province of Rome in the northern part of the peninsula was part of the jurisdiction of the Pope as Bishop of Rome. In the canon, falsely called Nicene, the Roman bishop is given authority over the "suburbicarican" churches. By this is probably meant, not those in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome, the later sense of the word, but the cities under the Præfecture of the City in the old Roman Empire. This included all Italy south to a line drawn from Ancona to Lucca and Sicily. But it must not be forgotten that southern Italy,

during the days of the Lombard invasions, was under Constantinople, and for a long time was a Greek speaking country, looking rather to the New than to the Old Rome.

The first provinces to be formed were Bari, Otranto, Reggio, Catania and Syracuse. Naples, Capua, Sorrento, Beneventum, Taranto, Salerno and Amalfi obtained archbishops between 962 and 987; more ecclesiastical provinces were added by the Normans; and in the Middle Ages there were more archbishops in Southern Italy than in the whole of Roman Gaul, or almost in Britain, Germany, Spain, and Scandinavia together.

The ecclesiastical history of Spain was interrupted by the amazing success of the Saracen invaders in the eighth century, and by the stubborn reconquest of the land by the Christians whom they had dispossessed. Under the Roman Empire the peninsula was divided in six provinces—Tarraconensis, Gallæcia, Lusitania, Bætica, Cathaginiensis. In these the most important bishoprics were Tarragona, Lucus and Bracara (in Gallæcia), Emerita (in Lusitania), Hispalis, or Seville (in Bætica), and Toledo (in Carthaginiensis). These were apparently the metropolitan sees in Visigothic times. The great invasion of the Saracens (710–713) destroyed the old boundaries, and though the conquerors tolerated Christianity few sees in Spain except in the extreme north have had an unbroken existence. Reduced to take refuge in the northeastern district of Gallicia and Asturias, the Christians of Spain began the age-long work of driving back their unbelieving conquerors. Encouraged by the presence of the national saint, James the son of Zebedee, the protomartyr of the Apostles, at Santiago di Compostella, they steadily advanced southward till in 1492 the last Moorish kingdom of Granada succumbed to Ferdinand and Isabella.

It was possible to travel from the shores of the Bay of Biscay to those of the Mediterranean without stepping outside the territory subject to the Archbishop of Toledo, the Primate of Spain, one of the greatest prelates in Christendom, and the head of the most severely Catholic of churches; though it

received the Roman doctrine with a respect which was not always accorded to its claim to Papal authority. The unbroken record of primates begins in 1058. Besides Toledo the provinces which are on the coast of the Mediterranean are the Catalonian archbishopric of Tarragona, founded in 1091, and of Valentia, both part of the ancient kingdom of Aragon. Inland, and included in the same kingdom, is the province of Cæsaraugusta (Saragossa). The two southern provinces were those of Granada, the last to be won from the Mohammedans, created an archiepiscopal see in place of the older Eliberis (Elvira) in 1492, and Seville. These with the provinces of Compostella in the west, between Spain and Portugal, and of Burgos in the north complete the Spanish archbishoprics.

The kingdom of Portugal was under three archbishops—Braga, Lisbon (Olysipona) and Evora. Lisbon, which in 1716 was made a Patriarchate, was only made an archbishopric in 1394.

The part of Britain which was under the Roman sway, was divided by Gregory the Great into two provinces, originally intended to be at London and York, and to rank in order of seniority of the archbishop. Though inferior in age to Arles, Canterbury, as the home of Augustine when he received the pall, is one of the oldest of western archbishoprics. Its jurisdiction, though more extended than that of most of the metropolitan sees of Gaul, was not equal in area to that of Toledo, Magdeburg or Mainz. York had at one time but a single suffragan in Durham, but in the twelfth century Carlisle became a see. It was after a long struggle that southern Britain was divided between the two ecclesiastical provinces of Canterbury and York in this order of precedence. At the close of the eighth century, when Offa, King of Mercia, became dominant among the Anglo-Saxon kings, he attempted to make his kingdom a separate province with the metropolitan see at Lichfield; and from 787 to 803 there was an archbishop there. The Council of Clovesho, however, in 803 confirmed the decision of Pope Leo III, restoring the rights of Canterbury, and withdrawing the pallium from Lichfield, which resumed its original

position as a suffragan bishopric.[1] In the twelfth century the archdeacon of St. Davids, Giraldus Cambrensis, was indefatigable in his efforts to obtain the pall for the Bishop of his native see, as Metropolitan of Wales, but without success. The struggle for supremacy between Canterbury and York distracted the Church of England for generations, as did also the question of the boundaries of their respective jurisdictions. It must not be forgotten that in the Middle Ages all points of precedence were settled by the Pope. The Archbishops of Canterbury after 1126 were *legati nati* of the popes; but their powers could always be placed in abeyance by the appointment of a *legatus a latere.*

The Scottish bishops were subject in early times to the Abbot of Iona, but they had no fixed limits, and were missionary rather than diocesan. In 843 Kenneth, King of Scotland, made Dunkeld the leading see, and in 906 this position was transferred to St. Andrews. But there were few sees before the twelfth century; and no pall was granted to a metropolitan by the Pope. At the end of the eleventh century St. Margaret, Queen of Scotland, offered submission to Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury. Then York put in a claim, which was recognized by the Popes and confirmed by English Councils. This was distasteful to the Scottish prelates; and in 1188 they were declared subject to no one but the Holy See. They were not, however, constituted as a province, but chose one of their number as *Conservator* to execute their decrees.

Ireland seems to have retained the practice of having missionary bishops attached to monasteries, but without dioceses. The Danish and Norwegian settlers at Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick when they were converted to Christianity appear to have turned to Canterbury rather than to the Celtic bishops. The four archbishoprics, into which Ireland was subsequently divided, date from the Synod of Kells, 1152, when Eugenius III sent the pallium to Armagh, Dublin, Cashel and Tuam. During the Middle Ages there was a con-

[1] Henry of Blois, brother of King Stephen, tried to get his see of Winchester made a metropolitan see with seven suffragans.

tinual dispute as to whether the primacy was vested in Dublin or Armagh; but ultimately Armagh was recognised as the leader.

The Scandinavian countries naturally were late in entering the Christian fold and, as has been indicated, were originally placed under the jurisdiction of Hamburg, and later of Bremen. With their conversion and organization as Christian kingdoms Denmark, Sweden, and Norway were made ecclesiastical provinces with metropolitans at Lund, Upsala and Drontheim.

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The first great missionary who desired to convert the Northmen was St. Liudger (d. 809), who had studied under Alcuin and, like his master, was highly favoured by Charles the Great. His success in the dominions of the Emperor as a preacher to the heathen Saxons made Charles forbid him to undertake the work, and the actual pioneer in northern missionary enterprise was St. Anschar (Ansgarius) who under the patronage of the Emperor Louis le Débonnaire laboured as a missionary in Denmark and Sweden, and became bishop of Hamburg, being also appointed legate by Gregory IV. Hamburg was completely destroyed by Eric, King of Jutland, and in 857 Anschar became Archbishop of Bremen. He had previously entered Sweden with the ambassadors of Louis and preached the Gospel there.

The progress of Christianity in Denmark was marked by alternate advances and reverses; and it was not till the days of Canute the Great (1014–1035) that Christianity definitely triumphed. In 1104 Lund became an archiepiscopal see with seven suffragans. The seat of the primate was in what is now the south of the kingdom of Sweden, but was then part of Denmark. In the thirteenth century Esthonia was under Lund. The Archbishopric of Upsala, including Finland, formed the Swedish province. The organization of the two northern kingdoms of Sweden and Norway was due to the mission of the famous Englishman, Nicholas Breakspeare, Cardinal of Albano, afterwards Pope Hadrian IV, as papal legate, under whom the first Swedish national council was held at Linköping in 1152; but

it was not till after twelve years, in 1164, that Upsala was created an archbishopric by Pope Alexander III. In heathen days it was a most famous sanctuary, and human sacrifices were offered at its temple. The cathedral dates from 1287. The University obtained in 1477 its charter from Sixtus IV through Archbishop Jakob Ulfsson, and the last Catholic Archbishop was Olaus Magnus (d. 1588), the historian of the northern nations. The most extensive of the Scandinavian provinces was that of Trondheim or Drontheim (Nidrosia, Urbs Thrudensis) which embraced the northern islands, the Faröes, Shetland, Orkneys and Hebrides, the most southerly being the Isle of Man. Iceland was also a part of this province, as was Greenland till the extinction of the Norse settlement at Gardar in the fifteenth century. This province was created by Breakspeare.

The conversion of Norway will always be connected with the two kings who bore the name of Olaf. The first of these, Olaf Tryggevesson (995–1000), was a mighty sea-rover, who embraced Christianity on being converted by a monk of the Scilly Islands, and henceforward abstained from attacking Christian England, devoting his sword and his energies to the conversion of his own people. He modelled his church on that of England, of whose priests he made free use in the work of spreading the Gospel in Norway. He was defeated in a sea fight by the combined navy of the Swedes and Danes and perished by leaping into the sea from his ship the "Long Snake," the greatest war vessel of the north. Olaf II, known as the Fat, and afterwards as St. Olaf (1016–1030), though not the son, was a worthy follower of his predecessor, and his vigorous zeal for Christianity was not dissimilar. He is regarded as the patron saint of Norway, and was canonized in 1164. He is commemorated in the City of London by the Church of St. Olave, Hart Street. In the name Sodor and Man, applied to the tiny diocese of the island, there is a recollection of the old Norwegian occupation of the western islands of Britain, Sodor meaning the southern land. The one solitary spot on the American continent within the Church Empire of the West

was Greenland, with its episcopal see at Gardar, which disappeared, probably early in the fifteenth century.

The conversion of Eastern Europe went on throughout the Middle Ages from the middle of the ninth century. The see of Magdeburg was established by Otto I with a view of converting the Wendish lands beyond the Elbe. The Wends were members of the Slavic race which occupies the greater part of Eastern Europe as Russians, Poles, Bohemians, Slovaks, Slovenes, Croats, Serbs and Bulgarians. The archbishopric of Magdeburg originally extended beyond the River Oder and even the Vistula far into Poland. The coasts of the Baltic, Pomerania, Russia, Courland, Livonia, and Esthonia long remained heathen. Indeed, no sees were established in Pomerania east of the Oder till 1180. The Archbishopric of Riga, which included most of the Eastern coasts of the Baltic, dates from 1253.

The conversion of the Slavic peoples was one of the chief missionary labours of the medieval period. The chief apostles of Slavic Christianity were Cyril and Methodius, the inventors of its alphabet and the first preachers of Christianity, who still rank among the greatest saints in the Church of Russia. These properly belong to Greek Christianity, but as their work was recognised by the popes of the ninth century, they take their place among the pioneers of the Western Church. Considering their fame, remarkably little is definitely known of their lives and labours, and the statements of historians regarding them are singularly discordant. It must constantly be borne in mind that, in any discussion of their relation towards the Roman See, the period is that of the undivided Church, and one also when Rome and Constantinople were at amity. Nor do Cyril and Methodius appear to have had any connection with the Bulgarian Church, which at its inception was a debatable land between the jurisdictions of New and Old Rome.

The main portion of the great Slav race which occupies no small part of Europe adhered to the See of Constantinople, and the lesser to the Church of Rome. But it is remarkable that whereas the Germanic races took over the Latin language in their liturgies the Slavs, in a large part of the territory

occupied by them, adopted their own language for the worship of the Church.

The names of Cyril and Methodius are familiar: their acts are so little known, that a short notice of them may not here be out of place. They were Greeks of Thessalonica of noble birth and both embraced the monastic life. Cyril was selected to go to Khazars as a missionary. He was then known by his secular name of Constantine. The Khazars belonged to a Turkish race living on the shores of the Caspian, a rich and powerful people who played an important part in Byzantine history, and had even given an Empress to Constantinople. They were the object of missionary endeavour on the part of Jews, Mohammedans, and Christians; but the influence of Judaism was decidedly predominant. One of their Chagans is said to have prayed with the Moslems on Friday, the Jews on Saturday, and the Christians on Sunday. Cyril, perhaps accompanied by his brother, was well received, but his mission cannot have been very successful, except for the fact that at Cherson, where he was learning the Khazar language, he was fortunate enough to recover the body of St. Clement I, the famous Roman bishop who had been drowned in the sea by command of Trajan. This happened about 860; and in 864 Cyril was sent with his brother Methodius to convert the Moravians. They were evidently men of learning, for Cyril had filled the post of librarian at Constantinople to the erudite Archbishop Photius, and must therefore have been recognised as one of the great scholars of his age, and have been qualified by his education for the work he subsequently achieved.

Moravia was a Slavonic land extending into modern Hungary, as far as the River Gran; nominally it was under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Passau, and was a sort of client state of the Western Empire. Under two powerful princes, Radislaus and Swatoplak, it was in the later years of the ninth century, an important country, though its Christianity before the arrival of Cyril and Methodius was really but nominal. It ultimately became subject to Bohemia. The Slavs demanded Christianity to be presented in their own language, and the

missionaries gratified them by translating the Scriptures and the Divine Liturgy. To do this they had, like Ulfilas in the fourth century, to devise a suitable alphabet, which is still known as the Cyrillic, or Glagolitic (Slavonic *glagol*, a word). From this the modern Russian alphabet is derived; but the old script is still used in the Slavonic liturgical books. The liturgy they translated was, naturally, that of the Church of Constantinople; and, as the churches of East and West were in communion, there could be no question about Rome's accepting it. But at this time, as there was no little dispute as to whether Moravia was to be under German or Constantinopolitan influence, Nicholas I summoned the brothers to Rome. He died before their arrival; and the decision as to the church they had founded rested with his successor Hadrian II. The question of the Slavonic Mass was naturally a vexed one. It had been supposed that as Hebrew, Greek and Latin were the languages inscribed on the Cross, the Divine Offering could only be made in one of them; therefore that it was impious to translate the Liturgy. Another question arose as to the jurisdiction of the German hierarchy in Slavonic lands. The Pope, in fact, was called upon to mediate and to decide whether the new converts were to be allowed to be Christians, and at the same time to enjoy the privileges of their nationality.

The visit of Cyril and Methodius to Rome is commemorated in the subterranean basilica of St. Clement, where Nicholas I is depicted as bringing the relics of that early Pope from the Vatican to the church, though the actual Pope at the time was Hadrian II. The Slavonic liturgy was sanctioned with a proviso that the Epistle and Gospel should be read first in Latin; and Methodius was consecrated Archbishop of the Slavs in the ancient province of Pannonia. Cyril died in Rome, and was buried in the Church of St. Clement. Methodius returned to his work among the Slavs to find that the German bishops of Passau and Salzburg were far from approving the action of the Pope. The deep-seated hatred of the two races burst forth in the ecclesiastical dispute. Methodius was arrested in 871, beaten, insulted, and for two years was immured in a dungeon.

A papal legate, Paul of Ancona, was sent by John VIII, the successor of Hadrian II. Methodius was liberated; but the Slavic Liturgy was forbidden, and the Mass commanded to be said in Latin or Greek. In 879 Methodius was again summoned to Rome and once more acquitted. Again the Slavonic liturgy was approved; but after the death of Methodius (April 6, 885) the approval was withdrawn by Pope Stephen VI. The liturgy made for the Moravians was transplanted to the Slavs in the East and North, and has become that of the Church of Russia. The Moravian nation was ruined by the invading Magyars. But even as late as 1248 Pope Innocent IV was petitioned to permit the use of the Roman Mass in Slavonic in Croatia—written "in the characters invented by St. Jerome." This rite is still in use in four dioceses.[1] The mistakes made in regard to the use of Slavonic, due to German influence at Rome, were in part responsible for the loss of the Slav church to Western Christendom.

Another Slavic people in whose conversion the West cooperated was the Bulgarian. As a heathen people, the Bulgarians had long been the scourge of the Roman Empire in the Balkan peninsula. They were not Slavs, but akin to the Huns, Tartars, Avars, and Finns. Their home was between the Ural mountains and the Volga; and in 679 they crossed the Danube, and, after subjugating the Slav peoples, they threatened Constantinople. Under their King Krum (802–815) they utterly defeated the Emperor Nicephorus. In the end their victorious aristocracy assimilated themselves to the subject Slavs, adopting their language. In 864 they accepted Christianity under Bogoris, or Boris, and they ascribe their conversion to Cyril and Methodius, who, however, do not seem to have visited their country. The legend is that the sister of Boris was a Christian and procured for her brother the services of Methodius (not the Slavic apostle as is often said), who was a famous painter. Instead of depicting a hunting scene as commanded, the artist made a picture of the last judgment, which so terrified the king that he accepted baptism, the Emperor

[1] Mann, Lives of the Popes, Vol. III, pp. 238 ff.

Michael III acting as his sponsor. Then ensued a long struggle between Rome and Constantinople for dominance over the new church, which ultimately joined the Greeks as an autocephalous church with a metropolitan see of its own.

The Bohemians were first approached by the German missionaries, but their natural antipathy to their neighbours prevented their accepting Christianity at their hands. Their first prince was baptized about 873 by Methodius. They obtained the right to have an ecclesiastical province of their own, when Prague was given an archbishop in 1344 under the Roman obedience.

The Hungarians or Magyars were not Slavs, and the origin of the nation is somewhat mysterious; but they appeared in the later years of the ninth century as formidable invaders, till their defeat by Otto I in 955. They gradually adopted the Christian faith, their apostle being St. Adalbert, Bishop of Prague, and afterward Archbishop of Gnesen, who baptized their Duke Geiza and his son, the famous king St. Stephen of Hungary. Stephen (997–1038) was the real founder of the Church of Hungary and was supported by Otto III's friend, Pope Sylvester II (Gerbert), the wonder of his age for his learning and ability. Stephen sought the crown of Hungary from the Pope who granted it with extraordinary honours in 1000 or 1001, giving him the title of the "Apostolic King," and making him the legate of the Holy See in his dominions. Hungary formed two provinces, that of Gran, the primatial see, one of the greatest in the Middle Ages, and Kaloosa-Bacs. Sylvester also presented Stephen with the famous "holy crown."

The history of the conversion of Poland, once one of the greatest kingdoms in Europe, is obscure; but the prince Mieczylaw I and his people became Christians in 966. It was then under German suzerainty; but the next prince Boleslaw (992–1025) asserted his independence, and was in the last year of his life crowned king. He had obtained also the independence of his church from Sylvester II and the provincial see was established at Gnesen with six suffragans who were increased to fifteen by 1079.

There remain only the countries on the shores of the Baltic, whose inhabitants belonged also to the Slav race and were added at a later period to the Roman Church; and when mention has been made of Lithuania and Russia, the survey of the territory occupied by medieval Christianity will be well-nigh completed.

A very important feature in the history of the Middle Ages is the constant rivalry between the Germans and their eastern neighbours; and, though the term is somewhat loosely applied, their contest with the Slavonic peoples. The ambition of the Teutons was to press eastward and northward, and, above all to become dominant on the Baltic. This found expression in the two military monastic orders—the Teutonic, and the Knights of the Sword. For a long period the influence of the Germans in imposing their civilization on the Baltic provinces was widely felt.

The Russian Church was outside the jurisdiction of the Roman See, though Catholic writers have attempted to show that for a considerable time it was Catholic rather than Orthodox. But from their first appearance in the ninth and tenth centuries the Russians were closely connected with Constantinople. The name Russian is supposed to be derived from the Scandinavians, who under Rurik and his descendants ruled the Slavic inhabitants. They frequently threatened Constantinople with their fleets; but ultimately, under Vladimir, who was baptized in 998, they accepted Christianity as the religion of the State. During a great part of the Middle Ages (1238–1464) Russia was under the Tartars of the Great and Golden Hordes, who were heathens and afterwards Mohammedans, but, whatever religion they professed, they displayed unusual toleration of Christianity. The Roman See was by no means unmindful of Russia; and throughout the Middle Ages emissaries were sent thither to induce its princes to recognise the Catholic Church. But the Christianity of Russia was always oriental, and remained outside the polity of the churches of the West.

During the period of the Crusades the Latin Church had

naturally its provinces in the East with its Patriarchate at Jerusalem, and, after the capture of Constantinople in 1204, the Patriarch there was a Latin; but this subject of Latin Christianity in the East deserves fuller treatment elsewhere.

The Oriental Church in the Middle Ages was divided between the four Patriarchates of Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem and Alexandria. This arrangement was made by the Council of Chalcedon, 451. But after the inrush of the Mohammedans, three out of the four Patriarchates were torn from the Empire, and remained under Saracen rule. Constantinople, therefore, virtually stood for the Roman Empire in the East. Despite the fact that it was a city of comparatively new foundation, lacking all the venerable traditions of Jerusalem and Antioch, the cradles of Christianity, and of Alexandria, the first great home of learning in the Church, Constantinople as New Rome held the primacy, which the churches outside the Empire and under Arab dominion could not dispute. Besides the Patriarchates, Cyprus formed an independent (autocephalous) province under the Archbishop of Constantia, and a great many bishoprics enjoyed freedom from metropolitan authority. The preponderating influence of the Roman Empire in the East is shown by the fact that whereas in Gaul the boundaries of the old provinces remained unchanged, under Constantinople the importance of a see varied with the political status of the city. The Patriarchate of Constantinople comprised all Asia Minor, the Islands of the Ægean, the Balkan peninsula, including the coast of the Adriatic, and the Peloponnesus. It also extended along the Black Sea eastward and northward to the Crimea. Antioch had also an extensive jurisdiction reaching as far south as the ancient territory of Moab on the east of Jordan, embracing Phœnicia, Syria, Euphratensia, Osroene, Armenia, and even Iberia. Bosra, Damascus, Emesa, Edessa, Melitene and Tarsus were among its Metropolitan sees. Jerusalem was really little more than a province, and its Patriarch presided over the Holy Land and the Arabian deserts to the south, with an archbishopric at the old Edomite city of Petra. Egypt and

Ethiopia were in the Patriarchate of Alexandria, which in its Christian days ranked second only to Rome.

The Roman Church in the days of Ignatius enjoyed what the fervid martyr describes as a "primacy of love," which the force of events made into an overwhelming predominance at any rate in the Western Church. But for the present purpose the vexed question of the rights of Rome may be set aside, as one object of this chapter is to state the kind of jurisdiction the Roman Church exercised in the Middle Ages. It must be borne in mind that great as was the position of the Pope in these centuries his authority was not merely personal but represented the elaborate organization over which he presided. It is not unimportant that in the first letter from Rome, that of St. Clement to the Corinthians, the writer does not mention his own name, but speaks in that of the Roman Church, and that Ignatius addresses, not the bishop, but the Church at Rome. In the Decian persecution in the third century when Pope Fabian was martyred, and no successor could be chosen, the presbyters at once took the initiative in addressing Cyprian of Carthage; and throughout its history the Papacy has been sustained by a powerful body of men, trained in the arts of administration and rendered the more efficient by a long tradition of government. This tends to explain the steady continuity of the polity of the Roman See and how it was that, even when the Popes individually were immoral, incompetent, or, perhaps, merely unfortunate, they did the institution comparatively little damage. Of course circumstances aided the immense influence of the Holy See; the prestige of the Church founded by the joint labours of the Apostles Peter and Paul, the promise of the Head of the Church to Peter (*Tu es Petrus*), the glory of the City as the capital of the world, its precious relics of the martyrs, and, it must be added, the wisdom displayed in the midst of the trials and controversies of the fourth and following centuries. To the newly converted barbarian of the North the name of Rome appealed with irresistible force; and, when his princes and prelates saw the City with their eyes, their impression of its grandeur and sanctity was enhanced.

The Church of Rome was presided over by its Bishop to whom, as time went on, was reserved the name of *Papa* or Pope, a title happily combining reverence with affection. In the neighbourhood of Rome were other bishops, who tended to form an advisory council to the Pontiff. Besides this from a very early time there had been as many as forty-six churches in Rome, and these rapidly multiplied. The presbyters in charge of the most important of these churches were men of considerable weight and influence whose advice was naturally sought. In the third century Pope Fabian divided the city into districts which were presided over by officials with the humble rank of deacons, charged with administrative duties, which gave them even more power than the priesthood, and even the episcopate. From the days of Gregory I the whole energy of the City was devoted to ecclesiastical matters with the object of rendering its church as venerable and inspiring as possible to visitors from all parts of the world. Whether it was the initiatory rite of Baptism, administered at Easter, or the coronation of an Emperor, nothing was omitted which could add to the impressiveness of the Roman Church. Nor were the arts of government neglected. Rome was rarely distinguished for its theologians, its orators, or even its saints. It is not often we find, even in Popes, men of great eminence; learning was sought elsewhere. But the Roman clergy had a singular aptitude for affairs and even in the darkest ages the business transacted in its chancery was considerable.

As in the days of its secular glory, ecclesiastical Rome never allowed her champions to conquer for themselves. When they annexed a new Christian province they were expected to do so for Rome; and the way in which they were set over the country they had converted is illustrative of this. The Archepiscopate of the West, unlike that of the East, was of ecclesiastical, not of secular appointment, and was used for the purpose of binding the recipient of that dignity closer to the Holy See.

No western archbishop was allowed to exercise his function as ruler of his province till he had received the *pallium* from

Rome. For this purpose he had to go in person to the Pope, unless under special circumstances it was sent to him. He was made, therefore, constantly to realise that he owed his powers not to the dignity of the see, but to the favour of the Pope. An Archbishop might be at any time superseded by a special emissary from Rome holding legatine authority, and this could even be bestowed upon one of his suffragans. Powerful therefore as were many of the great prelates, and independent as they sometimes showed themselves to be, they were held by strong ties under the influence of the Roman See.

The power of the Roman Church was in the hands of the Pope and his entourage, which, at any rate by the eighth century, resembled the court of a Roman Emperor. Seven great officials ranking ecclesiastically as sub-deacons, but held in estimation as princes, administered the affairs of the papacy. The *primicerius notariorum* was in charge of the *scrinium*, or Chancery. During a vacancy he with the Archpresbyter and Archdeacon represented the Pope. With the *secundicerius* as under secretary he was at the head of the government, and these offices were naturally coveted by the leading citizens. The other ministers were the *arcarius*, or treasurer, the *sacellarius*, or paymaster, the *protoscriniarius*, or keeper of the archives, the *primus defensor*, or chief administrator of the farms of the church, and the *nomenclator*, or *adminiculator*, the minister of grace and protector of the poor: these great officers were considered also as dignitaries of the Empire. Foreign nations were at an early date represented by their schools. The earliest was the school of the Angles, founded in 727 by Ina, King of Wessex; there were also schools of Frisians, Franks, Lombards, and Greeks. There was even a "school of the Jews," who were at least tolerated in Rome.

The name Cardinal, as designating an office which possesses princely power and dignity, was originally bestowed on the principal clergy, not only of Rome, but of other churches. The word, derived from *cardo*, a hinge, was once applied to every priest attached to a central church, but, about the sixth

century, it had taken the significance of "principal," and came to be applied to the priest in charge of the "titular" churches in Rome, which apparently had existed from very early times. In the ninth century Pope John VIII entrusted these leading presbyters with the supervision and discipline of the clergy in the City. To them especially were entrusted the services in the four great cemetery churches—St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Laurence and St. Maria Maggiore. A list of "titular" churches in the twelfth century has been preserved.[1]

With the Cardinal Priests were associated Deacons, who bore the same honourable appellation. These were originally the heads of the "regions" into which early Christian Rome was divided. It must not be forgotten that in the early Church in the West, as in that of the East today, the diaconate was not merely a step towards the priesthood, but a distinct order with special administrative and liturgical duties. In the Middle Ages the Archdeacon, as head of the college of deacons, supervised the finances of the see and the discipline of the clergy, and was next to the Pope the most influential personage in the Church. It may be noted in passing that the word *cardinalis* was loosely applied to some inferior clergy connected with the Pope, in one instance "cardinal acolytes" are mentioned.

The Cardinal Bishops were seven, holding sees in the neighbourhood of Rome, known as "suburbicarican." These were Ostia, Porto, Albano, Sabina, Tusculum (Frascati), Præneste, and Santa Rufina. Calixtus II (1119–1124) united Sancta Rufina with Porto, and since his day there have been only six.

Thus the Cardinals were originally the dignified clergy of the Roman church—each order, bishop, priest, and deacon, being represented. Gradually they became permanent assessors with the Pope in the regulation of the business of the Church, and their council was known by the old imperial name of the "Consistory." It was practically a papal senate sitting to administer the affairs of the Church. After the Reformation the business was transacted chiefly by permanent committees

[1] Gregorovius, Rome in the Middle Ages, Vol. II, p. 440 and Vol. III, p. 444.

known as "Congregations"; but in the Middle Ages the Consistory's duties were administrative and judicial. The first step, however, in the recognition of the Cardinalate as a distinct order was the transference of the right of papal election to that body by Nicholas II (1058–1061). The text of the decree of the council held by Nicholas II became within thirty years of its promulgation a matter of dispute; but it certainly provided that the Cardinal Bishops were to confer and select a candidate, whose name they were to submit to the other Cardinals for election as Pope, with the approval, however, of the Roman clergy and laity. Alexander III placed the election in the hands of all the Cardinals. After the time of this Pope it became customary for Popes to bestow the Cardinalate outside Rome; and great ecclesiastics throughout Christendom were as a special favour made Cardinal Priests, a titular church in Rome being assigned to them. Till the fifteenth century it was customary for an Archbishop or Bishop created a Cardinal to resign his see; but since the Council of Constance it has been possible to retain it. Thus the College of Cardinals has become representative of the Churches and countries under the Roman obedience. The Cardinals in the later Middle Ages were given the right to rank as equal of kings and princes, and placed above all metropolitans and even patriarchs.

In early times a representative of the Papacy was sent to Constantinople to look after the interests of the Roman Church. Such a one was Gregory the Great, who spent seven years in Constantinople as the *apocrisiarius*, or *responsalis* of the Roman See. The popes communicated with the churches over which their jurisdiction extended through "legates." These played an important part in the administration of the medieval Church; and the question whether the papal representative should be received or not was frequently raised between the Pope and the European princes.

The legates came under the categories of *missi*, *a latere*, and *nati*. The *missus* was a special envoy of the popes despatched on extraordinary occasions. The *legatus a latere* was a more important personage. He was always a Cardinal and

on his arrival he naturally took precedence of all ecclesiastical authority as representing the Pope in person. In later times when a Bishop was also a Cardinal and was created *legatus a latere* he enjoyed precedence over the Metropolitan himself. In this way the privileges conferred by the gift of the *pallium* were precarious as the Pope might at any time send or nominate a *legatus a latere*, whose authority, however, had generally first to be recognised by the sovereign.

Certain Metropolitans were given the privilege of legatine powers by virtue of their office. The Archbishops of Lyons, Trèves, Canterbury, Toledo, Salzburg, etc., were so invested and were called *legati nati*. But in practice their authority as papal representatives was not great, and they could, as has been stated, always be superseded by the appointment of a *legatus a latere*.

Such was the medieval Church Empire, wide in extent, united in doctrine, organized elaborately, with authority growing constantly more centralized. Despite the political divisions of Europe the Church remained a single body, super-national, with its own rulers and its universal language. If we visit a great cathedral today we admire the vastness of the building and the remains which surround it, and are astonished at the way in which each century contributed to its augmentation and magnificence. But it must be remembered that the most ornate cathedral in our days is but a shell compared with what it was in all its splendour in the Middle Ages, with its vast army of monks or canons, its gorgeous ceremonial, its priceless shrines, its princely bishops, many surrounded by royal state. Perhaps nothing in England is more typical of what the Church signified in the Middle Ages than the cathedral of Ely in England, which utterly dominates the little fenland city clustered around its towers. Here is the religious as contrasted with the secular life, when the Church ruled the world. In the next chapter it will be necessary to show how this power was welded into a single weapon to be employed for the Popes who presided over Christendom, and later the story must be told how this Empire of Church declined and fell.

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CHAPTER V

THE REVIVAL AND REORGANIZATION OF THE PAPACY

Need of the Roman Church in the XIth Century for strong Popes — Monasticism — Reforms of the Monasteries — Cluny — The hermits of Fonte Avellana — The Franconian Emperors — The German Popes — Hildebrand — St. Leo IX — Simony — Clerical celibacy — Leo's journeys in the North — The Normans — Schism of East and West — Prosperity of the Byzantine Empire — The Emperor Constantine IX and the Patriarch Michael — Greeks declare Latins to be heretical — Leo IX's replies to the Greeks — The legates at Constantinople — Effects of the schism — Hildebrand in power — Early doctrine of the Eucharist — Justin — Ambrose and Augustine — Paschasius Radbertus — Ratramnus — Berengar — Papal elections — The married clergy — Alexander II — Imperial Antipopes — The Pope and the Normans — The Houses of Lorraine and Tuscany — The Empire — Election of Hildebrand — Breach between Henry IV and the Papacy — Excommunication of Henry IV — Canossa — Donation of Matilda — Guibert Antipope as Clement VII — Death of Henry IV — Investiture dispute arranged — Work of Hildebrand.

The achievement of the days of darkness was to build up the fabric of the medieval Church of the West; and by the middle of the eleventh century the wandering of the nations had virtually ceased, and the Church was mistress of the whole of Europe, the western part of which was ready enough to acknowledge the Pope as its spiritual father. But the Papacy was in the position of being influential abroad, and weak at home. It could be sure of a respectful hearing from England, Denmark, or Hungary; but in Rome itself the papal throne was frequently insecure, and even the Holy Father's person was liable to insult. For, from the day on which the Papacy broke off its connection with the Eastern Emperors, the institution was seldom strong enough to stand alone. It was only occasionally that powerful pontiffs, like Nicolas I or John VIII, were able to maintain themselves unaided; for as a rule a pope had to depend upon the strongest of the turbulent barons in the neighbourhood of Rome, or, at best, upon the Emperor. The German Popes, appointed by the Ottos or Henry III, were

often able and saintly men; but they did not really supply the need. What the Church demanded was a pope capable of standing alone, responsible to the Church and to God only, and independent of secular authority. A ruler, moreover, was required who would inspire awe and reverence throughout Christendom by his austere self-discipline and saintly life. The virtues demanded were not those of common life, but those nourished by the severe restraint of the cloister. Such men the eleventh century produced; and a line of rulers of this type long continued to occupy St. Peter's chair. This explains the immense strength of the Papacy. An able secular ruler might be succeeded by a weakling, a profligate, and a child, whose long minority would be a signal for an outburst of anarchy; but, provided the election was free and untrammelled, the new Pope was sure to resemble his predecessor in being a man of mature years, who had won his way to the front by his ability.

To this also is due the remarkable endurance of the Church-Empire of the West, which maintained its unity virtually unbroken for nearly five centuries; whilst the kingdoms and principalities of the world were scenes of constant convulsions. Kingdoms rose and fell, dynasties disappeared, the greatest potentates endured the strangest vicissitudes of fortune, and all the time Rome administered the Church, and her emissaries carried her decrees to the remotest parts of the known earth. The period treated of in this chapter covers the consolidation of the rule of the Church and may well be considered as the heroic epoch of the Papacy.

The strength of the Church in the tenth and eleventh centuries lay in the monasteries, in which alone any sort of security could be found for the pursuit of Christian virtue. Any reform of the clergy was therefore bound to be on ascetic lines. The restoration of monastic purity, with which the names of St. Benedict of Aniane, St. Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury, the great monastery of Cluny, and St. Peter Damian are connected, had been long going on, and was about to be felt in the Papacy. The ascendancy of monasticism was marked by

the type of men who rose to power in the Church, stern ascetics, uncompromising upholders of the rights of their order, divorced more than the priests and bishops of former days from the ordinary human sympathies of life. It was an iron age and demanded men of iron to rule it; and the churchman was no match for the warrior if he could not oppose to the discipline of arms the stern training of the cloister. Spiritual weapons had to be used as relentlessly as the carnal sword, and these could only be employed by men whose austerity impressed their opponents with awe. Moreover, the Church could no longer be the instrument of the secular state, but demanded freedom of action untrammelled by worldly authority. The problem was how to maintain the requisite independence, and yet to retain the enormous wealth and power which had been lavished upon the clergy.

The men and the spirit requisite for the work of reviving the honour of the Church were produced by the reform of the monasteries, the only sources of spiritual power during the darkest period of Christianity. True, monasteries degenerated, and zeal cooled, but the institution possessed inherent vitality and powers of recuperation. The most famous and always the dominant rule was that of St. Benedict of Nursia, who, though he never contemplated establishing his laws outside the monasteries which he himself founded in Italy numbering fourteen, including the great houses of Subiaco and Monte Cassino, was eventually recognised as the monastic legislator of the West. It is generally agreed that the Benedictine rule was a model of wise discretion as a guide to monastic life. It prescribed no arduous penances, its choir services left the monks time for work, and eventually for study, and it never aimed at centralisation, but left each of its abbeys free to work out its own system. However, monasticism decayed, till in the ninth century another St. Benedict—of Aniane—who enjoyed the friendship of Louis the Pious, endeavoured to make the discipline more exacting and to bring his group of monasteries under a superior abbot; but his scheme of reform ended with his death, and remained in abeyance till the tenth century.

In 910, William the Pious, Count of Auverne and Duke of Aquitaine, founded the monastery of Cluny and committed it to the charge of its first Abbot, St. Berno. Under a succession of able rulers, almost unbroken for more than two centuries, Cluny became the model for other monasteries, especially in France, and among the many houses which embraced its rule were the two original Benedictine ones of Subiaco and Monte Cassino. The rule lacked the freedom of the ancient laws of the first Benedict: it did not insist as he had done on manual labour, but made the choir services almost constant. The Cluniacs were under the control of the great Abbey, whose church was the largest in Western Europe, and the "daughters of Cluny" were to be found throughout France, and, after the Conquest, in a few places in England. Even where this rule was not embraced an extraordinary impulse was given by it to Benedictine monasticism. In the days of the restoration of the Papacy in the eleventh century, Cluny became a veritable nursery of great Popes.

But the hermits were destined to play a part as well as the Coenobite monks; and one of the most prominent of the reformers was the stern mystic St. Peter Damiani. At Fonte Avellana, in the Apennines near to Gubbio, a body of solitaries established themselves at the close of the tenth century, and astonished the world by the severity of their discipline, the multiplicity of their fasts, and the extraordinary ingenuity with which they devised tortures for themselves. The most famous of these religious athletes was St. Dominic Loricatus, so called because he wore armour on his naked body. These hermits were preëminently skilled in the use of the "discipline," which they are credited with having introduced, and lashed themselves remorselessly. The performances of St. Dominic in this self-inflicted punishment moved even Peter Damiani to despairing emulation. It was customary to scourge oneself with a thousand lashes whilst reciting thirty psalms, that is to say with five thousand for the whole Psalter. One Lent Dominic accomplished two hundred and forty Psalters with the full compliment of lashes. If these self tortures move in a modern

man a feeling of contemptuous pity, it is well to remember that some of these hermits were far from being useless ascetics; and that Peter Damiani, their Prior, was one of the leading minds in his day; nor can the Middle Ages be understood unless these facts be taken into account. But it need cause no surprise that men who were thus unsparing of themselves, should have been absolutely relentless in carrying through reforms, which they believed were necessary to save the world from the power of Satan.

With Henry II the last representative of the family of the Ottos died out, and the Empire fell to the Franconian or Salian house, the first of whom was Conrad II, the Salic, a vigorous and able prince, succeeded in 1039 by his son Henry III, who in 1046, as we have seen, put an end to the scandalous papal rule of Benedict IX.

There followed a succession of popes virtually the nominees of the German Cæsar, men of exemplary lives but as a rule occupying the pontifical throne for brief periods. There were no less than seven popes in fifteen years, the most important of whom, St. Leo IX, reigned for five.

The first of these popes was Suidger, Bishop of Bamberg, who took the name of Clement II and crowned Henry III. Never before since the days of the Byzantine rule had the chair been occupied, save on two occasions, by other than an Italian.

Indeed it may here be said that the appointment of northern ecclesiastics as Popes generally proved disastrous, and hitherto, even when a virtuous and well intentioned Emperor intervened to reform the Roman Church, his efforts proved at best transitory. This was finally demonstrated in the German Popes of this century, men of high character but unsuited to the situation; and it became clear that to retain its position as arbiter of Western Christendom the reform of the Church of Rome must come from within.

At this juncture the influence began to be felt of one whose commanding personality was destined to dominate Europe till the day of his death in 1085, first as the power behind the throne,

and then from 1073 as Pope. This man's work laid the foundation of the medieval hierarchy in all its power and splendor. Born of obscure parentage, insignificant in appearance, owing everything to his genius and force of character, Hildebrand, afterwards St. Gregory VII, may well be considered the Napoleon of the Papacy.

He first appears as the friend and fellow exile of Gregory VI, the Pope who, probably actuated by a pure motive, and certainly with the approval of Peter Damiani, bought the scandalous Benedict IX out of the Papacy. When Henry III arrived in Rome Gregory IV admitted that he had been guilty of Simony and resigned without a murmur, accepting banishment from the City. Whether Hildebrand was ever a monk is an open question. His enemies accuse him as being a "bad monk" who had left his cloister, and his admirers connect him with the great monastery of Cluny which he visited in the pontificate of Leo IX. Anyhow, he first appears conspicuously on the scene in connection with that Pope.

In Leo IX appears the first uncompromising churchman to mount the papal throne in the eleventh century. Of illustrious and even royal birth, his ambitions and outlook were purely those of the ecclesiastic. He had for twenty years been bishop of Toul, though the Emperor Conrad, his cousin, was desirous that he should hold a more important position. But in his saintly unworldliness Bruno, for so he was called, preferred to remain bishop of an insignificant see. His kinsman, Henry III, at the request of the Romans designated him for the papal throne. Bruno entertained the suggestion most unwillingly, and declined entirely to accept the position as an imperial nominee. In the guise of a pilgrim in company with Hildebrand, he approached the gates of the City and asked the people to accept him as Pope. He was enthroned on Feb. 12, 1049, and reigned for five years till April 19, 1054, during which brief period he completely changed the position of the Papacy. The great events which characterised his pontificate were (1) The Condemnation of (a) Simony, and (b) clerical incontinence; (2) Tours in Europe for the reformation of the Church;

(3) Troubles with the Normans; and (4) Breach of relations with Michael Cærularius, Patriarch of Constantinople.

(1) (a) The weakness of the Church was the scandalous traffic in clerical dignities. Down to the humblest office money was the one acknowledged means of obtaining preferment. The Papacy, as has been shown, was not exempt from the evil, nor was it ever completely eradicated from the Church. But in the eleventh century Simony stood in the way of all reform in the direction desired by the stricter clerical party. A clergy who had notoriously bought their offices could not be free from the powerful patrons who had put them into these positions, nor could they hope to enjoy the respect of their people. Nor was the definition of Simony confined to the monetary transaction which procured the presentation of a benefice. Later Hildebrand, as Gregory VII, recognised three species of the crime. There was the material advantage by which a man paid in money or property (*munus a manu*); the pledge to support the patron by approving his actions (*munus a lingua*); and the inducement of promising to pay him honour and undue service (*munus ab obsequio*). Thus the object of legislation against Simony was to make each cleric able to discharge his office unfettered by any obligation to the patron, and to give the patron no excuse for not appointing the best man. Of course, in theory positions like bishoprics and abbacies were elective, but in the chaos of the time free elections were as impossible throughout Europe as they had long been in Rome; and even in the freest election bribery was not inconceivable. At his councils at Rome and Reims, Leo forced Simony to be publicly condemned and thus paved the way for the fierce controversy about investiture in the days of his successor.

(b) Closely bound up with Simony was the more difficult question of a celibate clergy. A married priest places himself in the power of his master, be he emperor, king, or feudal lord. Not only so, but if he holds a rich benefice and is himself a man of birth and influence it tends to the creation of hereditary ecclesiastical principalities, in which spiritual fitness is liable to disappear before temporal considerations. Still more

was the idea of a married priesthood repugnant to the stern monastic principles which dominated the Western Church of the age. But the question was incapable of a summary settlement. In the East marriage was permitted and even insisted upon in parish priests before ordination; though the episcopate and higher dignities were accessible only to monks. In the West many clergy lived more or less openly and blamelessly with their wives. On the other hand, human nature was too strong for those who dare not accept the marriage tie for fear of censure, and gross and open immorality was the deplorable result. Damiani determined freely to expose the evils of the time, not in the interest of legal marriage, but by the stern repression of all incontinence under the most dreadful penalties. He published a book with the fearful title of *Gomorrhianus*, in which he laid bare the terrible offences in which the clergy had little scruple in indulging and offered it to Leo IX. Leo accepted the work, but not all its inferences. A man of stainless life and a personal austerity, which caused him to be regarded as a saint even in his lifetime, Leo as a high born noble had mixed in camps and courts, and had been engaged in diplomatic duties. He was not therefore disposed to listen to the ravings of a saint who was a hermit by choice, spending days in the recitation of psalms and self-inflicted flagellations. But at Rome and elsewhere the Pope condemned clerical marriage and pronounced all sacramental acts performed by simoniacal or married priests as null and void.

(2) In his short pontificate of five years Leo IX proved himself an indefatigable traveller, constantly crossing the Alps in his endeavours to impress Europe with an overwhelming sense of the preëminent dignity of the Roman See. He was a zealous collector and translator of relics, and an inflexible asserter of papal authority. As Pope he became more and more Italian and ultramontane in the conception of his office. Consecrated early in 1049, he held a synod in the Lateran, and after placing Hildebrand in charge of the disordered finances of the See, he started for Germany. By the early summer he reached Cologne where he was magnificently received by

Archbishop Herman whom he made Chancellor of the Apostolic See. He reduced to utter subjection Godfrey of Lorraine, who had rebelled against the Emperor Henry III, and then crossed into France to hold a synod at Reims and to attend to the translation of the patron saint Remigius. He upheld the dignity of Rome inflexibly, forced the prelates of the North to acknowledge its supremacy without question, and humbled the pride of the Spanish archbishop of Compostella, who had claimed for his see the title of "Apostolic." Three times did he cross the Alps, not always to find the German prelates in a submissive mood; but miracles marked his progress, and even in his lifetime he was revered as a saint.

(3) The Normans had now made their power felt in southern Italy and Sicily and Leo had to come into conflict with that formidable people, who were destined to have no small part in completing the work of making the Pope supreme in the West. The conflict with them resulted in the humiliation of Leo IX, but in the ultimate advantage of the Papacy.

After their settlement in France in the tenth century the adventurous Normans came to Italy as mercenaries of the Byzantines. They soon, however, set up a principality of their own which passed into the hands of Robert Guiscard, the son of Tancred of Hauteville, a baron of Coutances. The dispute between the Papacy and the new Lords of Apulia was caused by the cession of the city of Benevento by the emperor to Leo IX in exchange for his rights over a German see. The Pope, it must be recollected, was not only a saintly ecclesiastic, devoted to the spiritual interest of his order, but had been brought up in a family inured to arms, and as Bishop of Toul had led his vassals to the aid of the Emperor. With a considerable force he advanced against the Normans, whose puny frames filled the Suabian troops with contempt. But the battle of Civitate, 1053, convinced the world of the invincibility of the Norman cavalry. Leo's Germans died at their post, the rest of the papal army fled in confusion. The Normans were, however, as pious as they were prudent. They fell on their knees before their captive and treated the fallen Pope with deep

respect. But the defeat broke Leo's heart. The serious party of the clergy, Peter Damiani at their head, blamed Leo for his having appealed to carnal weapons, and the Pope died in the following year. Four years later, on August 23, 1059, the Norman Guiscard was recognised by Nicolas II as Duke of Apulia and Calabria and future Lord of Sicily. Thus the Normans became the vassals of the Papacy, and the most valiant and strenuous protectors. This alliance was fraught with most momentous consequences.

(4) But Leo IX's reign was also marked by the final severance between Byzantine and Papal Christianity. The circumstances under which this occurred are somewhat obscure, and the catastrophe came suddenly; nor does its importance appear to have been realised by any contemporary historian. For many years the relations between Rome and Constantinople had been by no means unfriendly; and since the days of Photius there had only been occasionally such trifling frictions as were natural between two churches, each of which had its own peculiar claims to preëminence, and differed as to rites and ceremonies. But even so, Pope and Patriarch maintained on the whole friendly and even brotherly relations, and neither seems to have dreamed of considering the other as in any way departing from the Faith. The Latin rite was practiced in Constantinople, and the Greek offices were freely used in dioceses and monasteries under the Roman obedience. The controversy was, so far as the Greeks were concerned, conducted on the same lines as the Photian dispute and the assertions of the supremacy of Rome by Leo IX were much the same as those made by Nicolas I and his successors. The only difference was that the quarrel about Photius arose for a definite reason, his usurpation of the patriarchal throne, and ended when the cause of Rome's indignation was no longer in existence, whereas the controversy in Leo IX's day came like a bolt from the blue and became a permanent reason for the two Churches remaining apart. Rightly to understand it, it is necessary to relate briefly a chapter in Byzantine history.

From A.D. 975 to 1025 Basil II was Emperor; and under

him the ancient glories of Rome revived. In the triumph in which he celebrated his victories he was hailed by the multitude as Slayer of Bulgars. "His reign was the culminating point," says Finlay, "of Byzantine greatness. The eagles of Constantinople flew during his life, in a long career of victory, from the banks of the Danube to those of the Euphrates, and from the mountains of Armenia to the shores of Italy." Basil's reign was succeeded by a period of prosperity, the Emperors being the husbands of his nieces, Zoe and Theodora, the daughters of his brother Constantine VIII.

In 1042, after many revolutions and seditions in Constantinople, Zoe gave her hand to Constantine Monomachus, who, as ninth of his name, reigned till 1055. This Emperor appears to have been a man of good natural gifts and not ill disposed, but without sufficient strength of character really to rule, especially when owing his position to the preference of his elderly wife. In fact the power of this Emperor was overshadowed by that of the Patriarch, a man of stern character and insatiable ambition, combined with skill in utilising the popular prejudices to further his cause. Michael Cerularius came of a great family, and had once been a candidate for the Empire. In the Church he displayed the qualities of a politic and grasping temporal ruler. He seems to have regarded the Papacy as a king might regard a neighbouring state with which it was desirable to pick a quarrel; and though there was apparently no pretext for one, Cerularius was sure that once it arose he would have the support of his people. The Katapan, Argyros, who commanded the Byzantine forces in Southern Italy, was working with the Pope against the Normans in the interests of the Empire. The Patriarch regarded him as an enemy, and when the Normans won the battle of Cividale, and the Pope was their prisoner it seemed a favourable opportunity for Constantinople to strike a blow at its rival. It was an oblique one. The Bulgarian Church since the victories of Basil II was bound closer than ever to the Patriarchate and the Archbishop of Acrida, its metropolitan see, was a Greek named Leo. Evidently he was prompted by Michael Cerularius to

write to the Bishop of Trani inviting him to abandon two Latin usages as uncatholic, namely, the employment of unleavened bread in the Eucharist, and fasting on Saturday. These, Leo said, savoured of Judaism and should be given up. The letter was addressed "to the Bishop of Trani, all the bishops of the Franks, and the most reverend the Pope."

This attack was followed up by a more vigorous paper by Nicetas Stethatos, a monk of the Studium, in which all the practices of the Latins objectionable to the Greeks were attacked. The insertion of the word *Filioque* in the Creed and the Latin prohibition of marriage of priests being added to the charges of Leo. These "horrible infirmities" the monk attributes to perversions of the faith which had been deliberately encouraged by Jewish influence in Rome. The patriarch next openly declared war by closing all the churches in Constantinople in which the Latin rite was celebrated. As it is generally supposed that the rupture was due solely to the insertion of the word *Filioque* in the Latin Creed, it may be well here to remark that, though this was made a grievance, though it was the subject of debate whenever reunion was discussed, the great charge against the Latins was that they were guilty of heresy because they used unleavened bread (*azems*) in the Eucharist; for this was not merely regarded as an innovation in discipline and practice, but as a heresy, inasmuch as to make Christ in the Sacrament of unleavened bread was to be guilty of the error of Appollinarius, who denied the Saviour a human soul. Unleavened bread was, in fact, "soulless bread." As a matter of fact the charges made against the Latins had all been advanced by Photius, when the Romans condemned his usurpation of the Chair of Ignatius, and had hardly troubled the two Churches since the schism had been healed.

Leo's reply was an echo of the language of Nicolas I to Photius. Disdaining the charges of heresy, the Pope asserted in the most uncompromising fashion the absolute supremacy of Rome over all other sees. This language was most unacceptable to all the Easterns. Peter the Patriarch of Antioch,

who was no admirer of Michael Cerularius, could not accept the unqualified primacy of Rome, and in language which recalls the arguments of Irenæus for four Gospels he declares the five Patriarchates of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem to be as necessary to the Church as are the five senses to the body.

The Pope sent three legates to Constantinople with letters addressed, not to the patriarch, but to the Emperor Constantine IX. They were Cardinal Humbert, Frederick the Chancellor of the Church (afterwards Stephen IX), and Peter, who had been formerly Archbishop of Amalfi. The papal letters are dated January 24, 1054, and Leo died on the 19th of April following. The Emperor seems to have done what he could to give the legates an honourable reception. The monk Nicetas was compelled to express regret for his treatise against the Roman See. But Michael was unpracticable. He refused to hold conversation with the legates and was evidently preparing to convene an imposing Synod against them. On July 16th they anticipated him by solemnly placing a bull excommunicating Michael Cerularius on the altar of St. Sophia. The Emperor tried once more to mediate, but Michael was inexorable and the rupture was complete. The papal throne was actually vacant when this momentous event occurred.

Hereafter it will be necessary to discuss the many attempts made to heal this unhappy schism. It was caused by the bold bid by the Patriarch for supreme power. Michael Cerularius had in his youth been almost raised to the imperial throne. He aspired in mature life to reign over the world from the seat of the Patriarch. By his defiance of Rome he had united the Eastern Church as it had never been united before, as his attack on Western innovations and papal arrogance was entirely in accordance with popular feeling. He was, as the philosopher Psellus calls him, a "democrat," and he perfectly understood how to use the prejudices of the people for his own ends. His success, a generation before the crusades and on the eve of the first Turkish inroad into Asia Minor, proved fatal to the progress of a divided medieval Christianity.

Three short pontificates followed that of Leo IX, those of Victor II, Stephen IX, and Nicholas II. The Emperor Henry III died in October, 1056, leaving his infant heir Henry IV under the guardianship of the Pope. There was now no Emperor to control the papal elections or interfere with the policy of the Roman Church. Stephen IX, of the anti-imperial house of Lorraine, was at the time of his election Abbot of Monte Cassino, the birthplace of Benedictine monasticism, a position which he retained as Pope. One of the most important acts of his brief pontificate was to nominate Peter Damiani Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, thereby ranging himself definitely on the side of the extreme wing of the monastic party.

What followed the death of Stephen (March 29, 1058) is instructive in showing that the old power and ambition of the Counts of Tusculum had still survived. The Cardinal Bishop of Velletri, John Mincius, of the family of Crescentius, was hastily elected and placed in the papal chair. He was evidently not a man of evil repute, for Stephen IX had considered him as a possible successor, but under him the old days of anarchy seemed likely to revive. He took the family papal name of Benedict X. At any rate the party of reform was alarmed, and, led by Hildebrand, they induced the Empress Agnes, widow of Henry III, to allow the election of a Burgundian named Gerard, Archbishop of Florence, who reigned as Nicolas II. The new Pope obtained the aid of Robert Guiscard, of the Normans of Southern Italy and also of the powerful house of Lorraine. Benedict X abdicated in favour of Nicolas II and the influence of the local nobility was broken.

But the above mentioned Popes, though all noble by origin and far from contemptible in character, are mere names compared to the great Cardinal Deacon who for a generation directed the policy of the Holy See. From the death of Leo IX, in 1054, till his own death as Gregory VII in 1085, the real Pope was Hildebrand. The resignation of Benedict X was almost entirely due to his influence; and whether true or not, the story, that when Benedict X died, Hildebrand expressed his sorrow for his action in assisting at the humiliating deposition

of this Pope, is typical of the man's stern sense of justice to himself, as well as to the rest of mankind.

Three events mark the influence of Hildebrand, and these determined the future of the Church: (1) the condemnation of Berengar of Tours for his views of the Eucharistic sacrifice, (2) the legislation affecting papal election, (3) the subjugation of the married clergy of Milan.

(1) The great doctrine, which in the primitive Church was never a cause of serious dispute, was the one concerning the presence of the Saviour in the Supper which he had ordained. Even when different explanations were given, it was beyond controversy that the words "This is my Body" and "This is my Blood" must be taken as meaning what they implied. That the faithful received these holy mysteries when they partook of the consecrated elements there was no doubt. But at the same time when it was necessary to use with precision philosophical terms like "substance," "nature" and the like about the Trinity to express the relation of one "person" to another, or about the twofold nature of our Lord as God and Man, it was but natural that similar language should be applied to the Eucharist, in which the visible bread and wine became the means of making believers partakers of the invisible Body and Blood of their Redeemer. In the second century the sacrament was explained in simple words by Justin Martyr:

> "For not as common bread or common drink do we receive these; but like as Jesus Christ our Saviour being made flesh through the word of God had both flesh and blood for our salvation, so also were we taught that the food for which thanks are given by the prayer of his word, and by which our blood and fleshly conversion are nourished, is both the flesh and blood of that Jesus, who was made flesh."

Two centuries later we find the Greek fathers using the terms transmute and transelementize, but not for centuries do we meet with the more famous word transubstantiation. There were two trends of thought in regard to the Eucharistic gift in the Western Church, initiated by St. Ambrose and St. Augustine respectively. Both acknowledged the presence of

the Lord; but Ambrose dwelt most on the priestly aspect of the miracle, and Augustine regarded it as one of faith. This difference of opinion was not fundamentally serious, and gave rise to no controversy; it only indicated tendencies which were to develop later. The teaching of Ambrose on this subject was due, as was much of his doctrine, to Oriental influence. It was not till 840 that Paschasius Radbertus, a monk of Corbey, brought the matter into prominence by publishing a treatise on the Eucharistic mystery, in which he asserted the Presence of Christ on the altar in terms which seemed to many materialistic. He was answered by another monk of Corbey named Ratramnus, who was supported by Eriugena: these two inclining to the Ambrosian rather than the Augustinian side. The controversy slept until the eleventh century, when it was revived by Berengar, a deacon of Tours, one of the great teachers of the time, who may have numbered St. Bruno, the founder of the Carthusians, among his disciples. Of his doctrine this much may be said, that it was opposed to the grossly materialistic explanations of the Presence current at the time, which degraded the great mystery into a magical conversion. In his endeavours to meet this error Berengar was suspected of denying the Presence and making the Eucharist no more than a commemoration. He made several recantations and was vigorously opposed by Lanfranc, Abbot of Bec, and later Archbishop of Canterbury. To refute this "heresy," Hildebrand was sent to France, and seems to have shown a real liberality of spirit towards Berengar, defending him from his persecutors, whilst himself steadfastly adhering to the doctrine of the Church. In this the future Pope appears to have exhibited the best traditions of Rome, impartiality in the midst of a heated controversy, and unwillingness to deal harshly with speculative error.

(2) In early days the churches as a rule elected their own bishops, and certainly in early times the Roman Christians chose theirs by popular vote. As has been indicated, from the seventh century there was no little interference in the election from the outside. First the Emperors or their Exarchs at Ra-

venna had to sanction the election, then the new Frankish Cæsars claimed the same right, and, with the fall of the house of Charles the Great, the nobles presumed to nominate their friend.s When this scandal reached its height, the Western Emperors were called in to select suitable popes; and Henry III exercised a sort of private patronage, till his death in 1056. At the second Lateran Council, held in 1059 under Nicolas II, it was decreed that henceforward the Cardinal Bishops should select a candidate, a Roman if possible, and the election should be confirmed by the other Cardinals and by the clergy of Rome. This laid the foundation of the power of the Cardinalate and paved the way for the election of the Pope by that body in conclave. Its immediate result was to reassert the right of the Romans to choose their own Pope and to put an end to any sort of lay nomination. It was in fact the determination of the clerical and monastic party, headed by Hildebrand and Peter Damiani, to separate the Church as far as possible from the world and to exalt the authority of the Roman See over all other churches. It was not for nothing that Gerard, Bishop of Florence, had assumed the name of Nicolas II, as his policy tallied with that of Nicolas the Great.

(3) After Nicolas II's death, in 1061, the great contest with the married clergy was fought out, with Milan as the stage. Milan, like its rival Ravenna, never forgot that it had once been the capital of Italy and proudly refused to acknowledge the authority of Rome over its affairs. Its Archbishops, ever mindful that they represented no less a person than St. Ambrose, steadfastly asserted their independence. Milan had been destroyed by the Lombards, who made Pavia their capital; but it rose from its ashes in the ninth century under the fostering care of its Archbishops, especially Anspert (868–881) and Heribert (1018–1045). Heribert, a truly magnificent prelate and statesman, caused Conrad the Salic to be crowned King of Italy, suppressed the power of his rival and namesake of Ravenna, withstood the military forces of the Empire, and finally died amid the tears of the people of Milan, who regarded his memory as that of a saint. Like most of his clergy, Heribert

was a married man; for the priests of Milan boasted that St. Ambrose had allowed them to take wives, not clandestinely, but openly by "ring and dowry." These Lombard priests, moreover, were considered admirable clergymen, and their lives were the boast of the province. So exasperating was this to the sterner party of Hildebrand and Peter Damiani that in their judgment, whilst elsewhere clerical concubinage was merely sin, the married priests of Milan were guilty of the far graver offence of heresy. Strangely enough the first opponents of Heribert were themselves heretics, the followers of one Gerard, who seem to have held Manichæan views resembling those of the Bogomils and of the Albigensians. Heribert dealt with great severity towards them; and as one of their tenets was that death in torment was the chief purification from sin, he gratified this proclivity by burning a large number in a vast pyre in Milan.

Heribert was succeeded by Guido, a man of less force of character, and under him the storm against the married clergy broke with the utmost fury. The leaders were Ariald, a man of humble birth, and a noble named Landulf. But behind them was Anselm, Bishop of Lucca, afterwards Pope Alexander II, and Peter Damiani. The latter by his eloquence and furious invectives, secured the triumph of the celibate clergy. The popular voice was against the old aristocratic married priesthood, and the victorious party were called *Patarines*, either because they belonged to the rabble, or were accused of the heresy oppressed by Heribert.

The comparatively long pontificate of Anselm of Badaggio, Bishop of Lucca, as Alexander II (1061–1073) is notable for (1) the beginning of a series of imperial anti-popes, (2) the rise of the Normans as the supporters of the Papacy, (3) for the power of the houses of Lorraine and Tuscany, (4) for the early days of Henry IV. All these were a preparation for the tremendous struggle with the German power begun by Hildebrand as Pope Gregory VII.

(1) The exact wording of the decree of the Council of the Lateran in 1059 is not certain, the point at issue being whether

any rights were reserved for the Franconian House in sanctioning the papal election. It was certain that Henry III had practically nominated every pontiff since the deposition of Gregory VI and his rivals. The council met in the infancy of his son Henry IV, and according to some respected, and to others entirely disregarded his claims. Anselm of Lucca had been elected without consulting the Germans, and was distasteful to the Lombards as representing the intolerance of Hildebrand and Damiani. Already it was recognized that, whoever was pope, the real enemy was Hildebrand. Hildebrand, according to a contemporary epigram, had made Alexander II a pope, and the Pope had made him a God. Guibert, the Chancellor of the Empire in Italy, assembled a council at Basle which elected Cadalous, Bishop of Parma. He took the title of Honorius II. War was thus openly declared, the monastic party with Hildebrand, Peter Damiani, and the Normans supporting Alexander II, and the Antipope being backed by the Lombard clergy and the upholders of the Imperial power in Italy.

(2) Political influences were naturally deeply involved in the coming struggle, and the rise of the Norman power was a serious menace to German influence in Italy. This wise and adventurous people had recognized the importance of being on good terms with the Popes, now about to become all powerful; and, since the defeat of Leo IX at Cividale, they had done their best to conciliate the papal government. In accepting their alliance Nicolas II had followed the traditional papal policy, pursued till the middle of the nineteenth century, of keeping southern Italy apart from the northern end of the peninsula. In 1071 Sicily fell into Norman hands, thereby giving the command of the Mediterranean to that enterprising nation. It is not surprising therefore, that when William the Norman appealed against Harold, Alexander II gave a decision in his favour and decided to bless his expedition to secure the crown of England; especially as Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, was deemed by Rome to be a schismatical occupant of the primatial see. This interference with the affairs of the Anglo-Saxons may have been unjust, though really it proved a blessing

in disguise. Their history for the past century had been far from glorious, and the country needed able leaders to raise its people to a higher level of civilization. It is to the credit of the Normans that they performed their task of conquering England so thoroughly that it was both speedy and permanent, and to that of the Anglo-Saxons, that they submitted to the inevitable, and united with their conquerors in making a great nation. The two people commingled within a few generations; but the Norman and Anglo-Saxon spirit exist still side by side. The one has been shown throughout history by the power of inspiring respect mingled with fear, which has made Englishmen in the past able to rule the inferior races of the world, less to their own advantage, than to that of their subjects; whilst, in so far as it is Anglo-Saxon, England has been gifted with an obstinate obtuseness which is not its least valuable asset. Thus the necessities of papal policy in the eleventh century contributed to the growth and development of the British race.

(3) The Normans were not the only rivals of the Cæsars in Italy. The powerful house of Lorraine were hereditary enemies of the Franconian line; and Godfrey IV was allied by his marriage with a Tuscan princess. His wife was Beatrice, the widow of the Marquis Boniface and the mother of Matilda, the most celebrated woman of the eleventh century. The stronghold of Matilda was Canossa, which had been the fortress of her great-grandfather Azzo, or Atto, who had become Count of Modena and Reggio. The cities of Ferrara and Brescia were added to the dominions of his son, Tedaldo; and his grandson Boniface II, the Pious, obtained Tuscany. He was murdered in 1052, leaving his widow Beatrice and her daughter Matilda. The immense power of this family and the alliance of Beatrice with Godfrey of Lorraine, brother of Pope Stephen IX, made them suspected by Henry III; and, for marrying without the consent of her feudal lord, Beatrice was kept in custody by the Emperor till 1056, when Godfrey made his peace. Matilda's dominions were of the utmost importance in the coming struggle between Emperor and Pope, as they lay direct in the way of any advance to Rome.

(4) Henry IV, King of the Romans, was born 1050 and was consequently six years of age when he succeeded on the death of his father Henry III. The real rulers of the Empire were the powerful feudatories, especially the princely archbishops. These exercised great authority over the bishops, and in their desire to acquire wealth ruthlessly despoiled the monasteries. The rapacity of these prelates was in itself an argument for the vigorous crusade made by the papal party against Simony. The leading metropolitans, if not in rank at least in ability, were Hanno of Cologne and Adalbert of Bremen. Hanno threw his influence on the side of the legitimate pope, Alexander II, and therefore of Peter Damiani and Hildebrand. With the aid of the archbishops of Cologne and Mainz he seized the boy king, Henry IV, and boldly removed him from the influence of the Empress Agnes his mother. But Henry preferred, as he grew up, to put himself into the hands of Adalbert, Archbishop of Bremen. Between Adalbert and Hanno was constant rivalry. Hanno sought the support of the episcopate, Adalbert that of the nobles. Ultimately Hanno prevailed and with his victory the triumph of Alexander II over his rival Cadalous (Honorius II) was complete. Under such influences the young King arrived at the age of manhood.

Alexander II died on April 21, 1073. And now the clergy and people in Rome would wait no longer, and with one voice proclaimed Hildebrand as Pope. He ascended the throne as Gregory VII, whether in memory of his predecessor, Gregory I, the greatest of the popes, or of his patron Gregory VI, whose exile he had shared when he had been forced by imperial authority to make way for a German. For many years he had been the dominant figure in Christendom. He had been employed as the papal agent in many lands, and throughout successive pontificates he, and not the occupant of St. Peter's seat, had stood for the Roman traditions. His immediate predecessors, with the exception of Alexander II, who was an Italian rather than a Roman, had all been foreigners. Gregory was Roman by training, he represented the tradition not only of the Church but of the Republic. To him even the City was nothing compared

to the world in which it was his duty to bring under the Roman sway. As a Christian priest he might have taken as his motto *Pascere subjectos*, but, as a Roman, he would have left Virgil's words *debellare superbos* unchanged. The law which he sought to impose on mankind, demanded unquestioning obedience to the commands of the Holy See. Kings and princes were but laity, who if they sinned must be rebuked and chastened by their spiritual superiors: for "gold is not so much more precious than lead as the sacerdotal dignity is higher than kings." Over certain realms Gregory claimed an *altum dominium* on the ground that they had been made over to the custody of St. Peter. These were Spain, Hungary, Bohemia, Croatia, Russia (now under Constantinople) and England. But despite these claims, which to us may seem preposterous, Gregory was not blinded by his arrogance. He knew a man when he met him, and he frankly recognised that such an one as William the Conqueror could speak his mind even to a pope. Nor does his conduct towards Berengar reveal Gregory as intolerant in theological controversy. He condemned Berengar's opinion on the Eucharist, but showed no bitterness to the individual; he treated him as a man of intellect who had come to a wrong conclusion, but ought not on that account to be hounded out of the Church.

Gregory surveyed the world of his time with the eye of a statesman, a priest and a prophet; and it might be said that in his eyes "Behold it was very bad." In Germany, Henry IV was determined to assert the authority of the imperial crown to the utmost and to bring the Church under his power, controlling the See of Rome as his great predecessors had done. The profligacy of Philip I of France was bound to draw down the censures of the Church. Lombardy was still seething with discontent at the treatment of the married clergy. In Southern Italy the power and craft of Robert Guiscard was a menace to the papal dominions. In all parts of the world the bishops were tainted with the sin of Simony which Gregory was bent upon suppressing. But the Pope was able to count on three allies. The Roman people, despite the misery he brought upon them,

were loyal. The monks stood by him, not only because his party was animated by their ideals, but on account of the unsatiable greed with which the great metropolitans and bishops plundered the abbeys, especially in Germany. And upon the whole, the common people sided with the Pope. At least he was the enemy of their tyrants—his high pretensions did not touch them. They cared little or nothing for the freedom of the clergy from outside dictation, especially when papal interference promised to secure them better and more zealous priests. In the ensuing struggle the cause of the Pope was undoubtedly the popular one.

It is now desirable to sketch in a few words the condition of Germany at Gregory's accession. Henry IV had had all the disadvantages entailed by a long minority. His authority had been in the hands of ambitious and self-seeking prelates and princes of the Empire. He himself had been educated as a king and had not been schooled in self-discipline or control. He had been forced into a marriage which he detested, though it afterwards proved a singularly happy one. The Empire was distracted by factions, and by the enmity of the Saxons to the Franconian house. Henry IV was twenty-three years of age at the time of Gregory's accession. He was a man of commanding presence and of much natural ability, determined to crush opposition, and to become master of his dominions.

Gregory VII began his pontificate on April 22, 1073, and in June the Saxons openly revolted against Henry IV. The Pope and King were not on unfriendly terms, though Gregory from the first accused Henry of having been guilty of Simony. Henry meekly acknowledged his responsibility to the Pope, whose aid he desired, as his war with the Saxons was far from successful. On February 24 in the following year (1074) the royal castle of the Hartzburg was taken and the Saxons insulted the remains of Henry's relatives buried there, and desecrated the chapel, for which the king demanded the spiritual censures of the Pope as against these profane and rebellious subjects. In the meantime Gregory in a Synod in Rome condemned Simony and clerical marriage; and an embassy was sent to enforce the

decrees in Germany, and met with a very discouraging reception. Siegfried of Mainz, the primate of Germany, had already published them in March; and at the Synod of Erfurt, October, 1074, at which they were debated, closed amid confusion. The Pope was not deterred by this opposition. His decrees were sterner than ever against the married clergy, they were to be degraded from their office, and thrust into the ranks of the penitents. The people were incited to rise against them. No sacrament administered by a priest in concubinage was to be reckoned valid. Their wretched wives were torn from them and treated with brutal severity. The clergy protested: popular favour was on the side of the Pope and they were powerless. At the same time the Council at Rome, February, 1075, absolutely forbid the practice of bishops or beneficiaries doing homage to any secular authority or receiving investiture by ring and staff. The idea was to render the immense estates of the Church hitherto held by feudal tenure absolutely independent and to set up within the Empire a power amenable to no earthly authority except that of the Pope. It was a declaration of war against Henry IV, who on June 9, 1075, had crushed the Saxons at Hohenburg and was therefore once more a power in his dominions.

Next there occurred an event recalling the days of old Roman savagery in the days of Charles the Great. A turbulent noble named Cencius seized the Pope and thrust him into a dungeon. The indignant people rose in support of their pontiff and Gregory soon had the ruffian who had insulted his person at his feet. It was believed that Guibert, Archbishop of Ravenna, the Chancellor of the Empire in Italy, was privy to the outrage. At any rate, the breach with the Empire was now complete. Henry IV was summoned to appear at Rome by February 22, 1076, to answer for his offences under pain of excommunication. Henry retorted by a decree issued from a Synod held at Worms deposing Gregory. The Lateran Council, big with the fate of an empire, met on February 21. The circumstances remind us of the Rome described by Livy. A serpent was seen climbing an egg. It suddenly struck what appeared to be a shield and re-

coiled in mortal agony. The Pope and his successors sat in deliberation over the prodigy, when suddenly Roland the ambassador of Henry entered and pronounced his sentence against Gregory. Thereupon Gregory interpreted the sign of the egg. The serpent was the devil whose discomfiture would be sure. Henry was solemnly excommunicated. The effect in Germany was disastrous to the royal party. The nobles and prelates fell away. William, Bishop of Utrecht, who had denounced the Pope, died in torments, Henry IV was defeated by the Saxons, and Gregory pushed his advantage relentlessly. He ordered Henry's subjects to desert their excommunicated King. At the Diet at Tribur the princes renounced their allegiance. The Pope announced that he would hold his court at Augsburg on February 25, 1077.

Henry now resolved on preventing this by himself seeking Gregory and demanding absolution at his hands. Accordingly he crossed the Alps and in January found the Pope at Canossa, the strong castle of Matilda of Tuscany. There he did his famous penance, and "to go to Canossa" has become a by-word for surrendering to the ecclesiastical authority. The scene was dramatic, the King is said to have waited in the snow three days for the inflexible Pontiff before he relented. Gregory insisted on insuring the genuineness of his penitence by all the terrors of the Consecrated Host. Only the tears and entreaties of Matilda induced the Pope to relent.

It is easy to overestimate the importance of Canossa. In fact it is still an open question whether King or Pope had the advantage. It was the Pope's object to go to Augsburg and depose Henry. This was prevented by the speedy submission of the King, which also inclined his German subjects to espouse his cause against papal tyranny. At any rate Henry was absolved and free from all the awful penalties of one under the ban of the Church. At least his adherents could communicate with him without danger of hell fire. The truce was of but brief duration and when the struggle was renewed the King was in a better position than he had been in 1076.

Canossa was no more than a highly dramatic episode in

the long struggle between the Papacy and the Empire on the question of investiture. It was the cause of a truce between Henry IV and the Papacy, the prelude of a far fiercer struggle. About six weeks after the king's penance the German diet met at Forcheim March 13, 1077, and in the presence of the papal legates Henry was deposed and Rudolf of Swabia elected king in his place. Gregory, however, declared that the election had been made without his knowledge and consent; but this naturally did not prevent civil war in Germany, though for two years the Pope remained neutral. The year for Canossa, however, was also memorable not only for the death of the Empress Agnes, mother of Henry IV, but of the famous donation by Matilda of all she had or might hereafter acquire to St. Peter in the person of Gregory. As the war went on the Saxon party opposed to Henry complained bitterly of the papal indecision; and, at last, in March, 1080, a Synod was held in the Lateran to decide between the two kings. Gregory delivered a tremendous allocution to the assembled bishops and clergy, and pronounced sentence of excommunication against Henry. War was now open and the Pope secured the powerful help of the Normans by sending his friend Desiderius, Abbot of Monte Cassino, to Robert Guiscard. Henry in the meantime was preparing a combination in Northern Italy against Matilda of Tuscany, and a council of the prelates of his faction was called at Brixen in the Austrian Tyrol.

At Brixen Gregory was deposed and in his place Guibert of Ravenna was raised to the popedom with the title of Clement III. Thus the policy of setting up an imperial antipope was repeated, and, as usual, resulted in failure. In this instance the mistake was the more glaring on the part of Henry in view of the high character, abilities and reputation of Hildebrand. Guibert would also have been far more dangerous as Archbishop of Ravenna and Chancellor of the Empire in Italy, especially as his see had long contested the Roman supremacy.

The crisis came in the same year at the battle of the Elster, October 15, 1080, when Rudolf of Swabia was killed when about to inflict a severe defeat on his rival. The same day the Henri-

cians won a victory over the army of Matilda, and Henry IV without any rival in Germany was able to devote his entire energies to the subjugation of Gregory VII. In March, 1081, the German King entered Italy. For three years Rome was besieged and Matilda's lands ravaged by the Germans. In 1084, Gregory having secured the aid of the Normans was relieved in Rome by Robert Guiscard. The army which came to save the Pope ruined the City. Composed as it was of men of all races, including Saracens, it sacked the town remorselessly and from this time it may be said that ancient Rome ceased to exist and modern Rome took its place. Gregory VII seems to have been little moved even by the ruin of Rome. He retired with Guiscard to Salerno where he died, with the words on his lips, "I have loved justice and hated iniquity and therefore I die in exile." Just before the arrival of the troops of Guiscard, Henry IV had received the imperial crown at the hands of Clement III. Thus he became Emperor by his coronation at Rome but at the hand of an antipope.

Though the struggle between the Empire and the Papacy lasted till 1122, the main interest ceased with the death of Hildebrand, whose successors were Victor III (1086–1087), who had been known as Desiderius, Abbot of Monte Cassino; Urban II (1088–1099), before his accession Bishop of Ostia, a Frenchman and a pupil of St. Bruno; Paschal II (1099–1118); Gelasius II, and Calixtus II, under whom the investiture dispute was settled. The Crusades in a measure diverted the interest of the Church from the strife between Pope and Emperor, the heroic element of which had been buried with Hildebrand, who, stern and relentless as he was, was incapable of any description of baseness. It would appear that this humbly born man was the truest aristocrat of his time. Naturally of a kindly disposition he was on principle severe, unyielding, and arrogant in asserting the supreme majesty of his office. But he was too proud to be dishonest or to resort to trickery. If he and Peter Damiani may have shown a harshness which a Christian might deplore, they did nothing which a gentleman could condemn. But their successors fought

with baser weapons than they deigned to use. Under Urban II, Matilda and her friends stirred up Conrad, the son of Henry IV, a weak, treacherous and superstitious youth, to rebel against his father and accept the crown of Italy. The days of Paschal witnessed the more unfilial and hypocritical conduct of another son, afterwards Henry V, who used the clergy as his tools against his father. Henry IV died wretchedly in 1106, after having been actually imprisoned by his son, who, when he came to the throne, threw his clerical supporters contemptuously aside, and forced the Pope to crown him Emperor in Rome.

It was not till 1122 that the question of investiture was settled with the Empire by the Concordat of Worms, 1122, between Henry V and Calixtus III. The terms were as follows:

The Emperor surrendered the ceremony of investiture by ring and staff, and granted the clergy the right of free election. He restored all the Church of Rome had lost and promised to protect its rights. In return the Pope granted that all elections of bishops and Abbots should take place in the presence of the Emperor or his deputy. In Germany every bishop elect was to receive his temporalities by the touch of the royal sceptre, except those held directly from the See of Rome. Bishops were also bound to perform their feudal duties. Outside Germany every bishop in the Empire was to receive all his temporalities within six months of his consecration. These terms are virtually those made between Henry I of England and Paschal II. A struggle which had lasted nearly half a century ended in a compromise which might have been arrived at in a short conference. Whether Hildebrand would have assented to such an arrangement is doubtful.

This chapter opened with the Papacy just free from the tyranny and caprice of the Tusculan counts with a clergy too feeble to choose or support a pope of their own. Several popes in succession were appointed by the Emperor—all Germans from his native dominions. At last a true Roman made his influence felt in the person of Hildebrand, who, supported by the powerful monastic party, first placed men after his own

heart on the papal throne, and finally ascended it himself and defied the power of the Empire to dispute his claim. By the statesmanship of Hildebrand the Roman Church practically acquired the right of choosing the Pope; and though this was restricted to the chiefest of the clergy, it was more than had been enjoyed for many centuries. In vain did the imperial nominees dispute with the man selected by the Roman Church. They might hold Rome, but they were never really popes.

In breaking the formidable faction of the married clergy, especially in Lombardy, the party of Hildebrand separated every ordained man from the ordinary life of humanity. The celibate priest was made to feel that he belonged to another order of mortals. Thus the extreme clericalism of the Middle Ages comes more and more into relief. By making it impossible for a clergyman to have honourable offspring the order was prevented from becoming a caste; but this was at the expense of being a class, isolated from ordinary men, and devoted to its own honour and advancement.

Events have shown that by his bold assertion of the claims of the Church against the Empire Gregory VII was supporting a reality against what was after all a fiction. Cæsar, as a world power, existed mainly in the imagination: he was no more than a German king. Nor did the disunited and disorganized Empire represent humanity. The Church was a fact; its influence was felt by every man in Europe. Gregory VII indeed stood for a great cause and it was for the good of the world that, at any rate in his days, it should prevail.

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CHAPTER VI

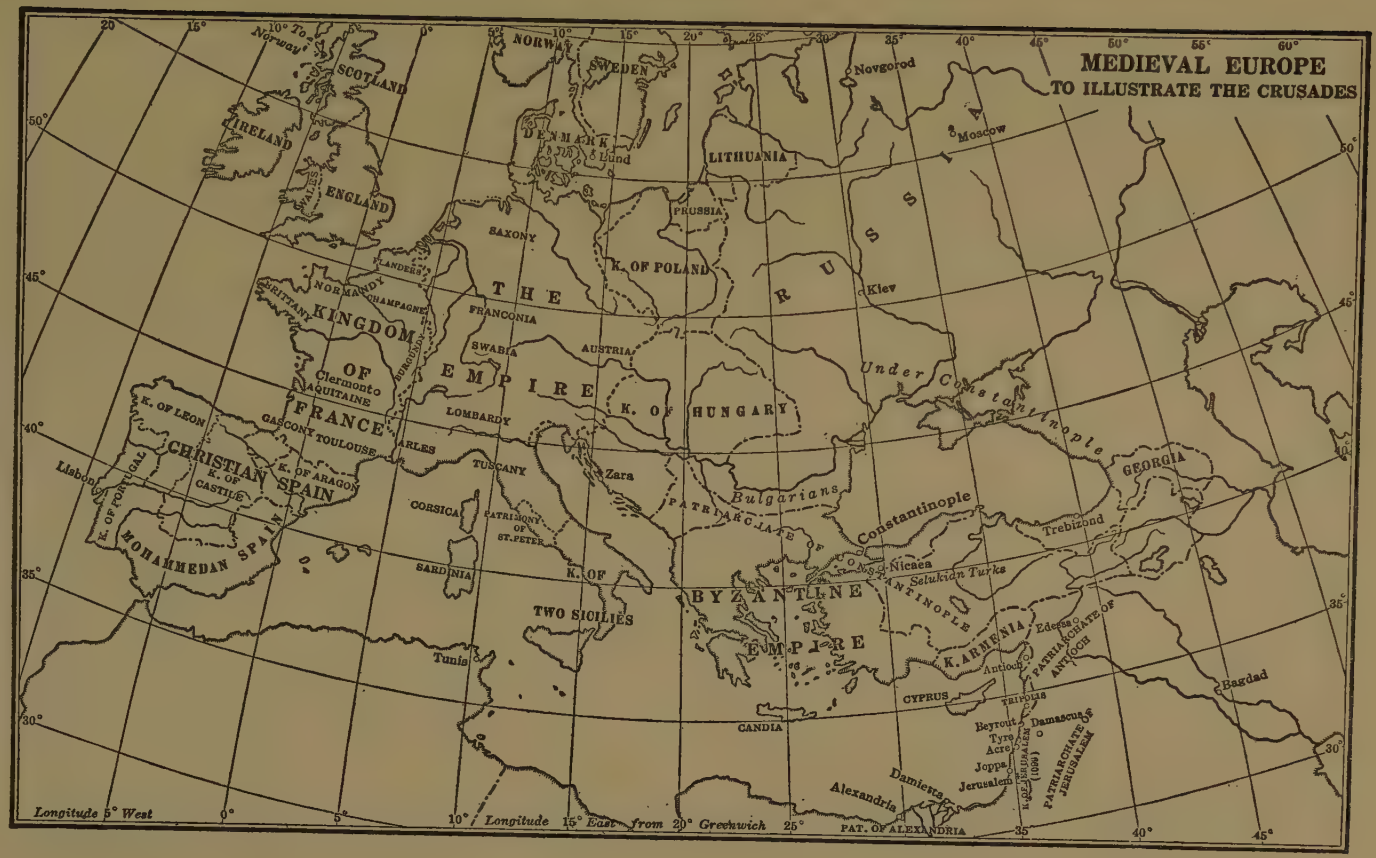
THE CRUSADES

Cause of the progress of Islam — The religious conquerors became secular princes — Appearance of non-Arab influences — Revival of the Byzantine power — The Turks in Asia Minor — Hakim, Fatimite Sultan of Egypt — Necessity for a Crusade — Favourable prospects for Western attack on Palestine — Pilgrimages to Jerusalem — Plan of the Crusades — Urban II at Clermont — The common people go on a crusade — The four crusading armies — Jerusalem taken — The Christian kingdom of Jerusalem — The Patriarch of Jerusalem — Trade — Byzantine rivalry — Feudal Palestine — The military orders — Fall of Edessa second crusade — The Comnenid — Saladin — Third Crusade — Death of Frederic Barbarossa — Richard I takes Cyprus — End of third crusade — Fourth crusade — Venetians employ crusaders against Zara — Latin capture of Constantinople — Results of the capture of Constantinople — The Latin Empire in the East — Disasters and mistakes of 13th century — Crusades and Frederick II — Louis IX — Fall of St. Jean d'Acre — Consideration of the crusades — Advance of Islam as a conquering power — The Mongols — Theories about the crusades — Abandonment of crusades — Christian missions replace crusades — Voyages to the Far East — Mongols embrace Islam — The Ottoman Turks.

The extraordinary success of the warriors of the Arabian deserts when they first overran Syria, Egypt, Persia, the Northern coast of Africa, and Spain, was not merely due to their military prowess or to the fanaticism with which their new faith inspired, but to a statesmanlike moderation which is wholly admirable. They were not Huns, spreading terror and destruction on every side, or, like the early Danish and Norse pirates, bent solely on plunder. They came in irresistible strength offering three alternatives—to accept Islam, to pay tribute, or the sword. Those who acknowledged Allah and his prophet became one with the conquerors, and those who paid tribute often obtained some return for their money, which the Roman Empire rarely gave, and were assured of protection from their enemies by the hosts of Islam. Moreover, not only did the conquerors refuse to impose their religion on any one; they respected the convictions of all their subjects, and orthodox and schismatical Christians enjoyed equal privileges,

whilst the Jew was tolerated and even honoured. Nor was it to the interest of the Moslems to convert all men, as by accepting Islam the convert ceased to play the indispensable part of a tax payer. All this was in direct opposition to the policy of the Christian Roman Empire, which excluded from the privilege of citizenship all who refused to acknowledge the dominant orthodoxy. The result was that the armies of the Crescent often advanced without striking a blow, and the Romans opposed to them fought surrounded, not by sympathetic fellow-worshippers, but by Monophysites or Nestorians, who almost openly sympathised with the invaders. From the death of Mohammed in 632 to the battle in Gaul when the Moslem host was defeated by Charles Martel at Tours, exactly a century later, the record of the progress of Islam is with this single exception the story of rapid and unbroken success.

It would here be superfluous to relate the story of the advance of the Mohammedan conquerors who had within a few years subdued a territory extending from the Western coast of Spain to the frontier of India and had founded an empire under the Caliph, or successor of the Prophet. A movement inspired by the desire to spread a new faith rapidly became secularised, and even the near successors of Mohammed changed from saintly and austere warriors into ambitious princes. The first of these was Moawiya, the governor of Syria who in 661 wrested the caliphate from Ali, the first cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet, and established the seat of empire over the entire Mohammedan world at Damascus. His dynasty, of the stock of the original Arab conquerors, lasted till A.D. 750 and is known as the Omayyads. They represented the best Arab tradition of primitive Islam, with its scrupulously tolerant attitude to other religions. Under their successors, the Abbasids of Bagdad, Persian rather than Arabian influence was dominant, and the presence of the Seljukian Turks already began to manifest itself. Thus the power which had been originally built up by the Arab race passed into other and ruder hands, and the united caliphate was replaced by Mohammedan dynasties, often at war with one another.


MEDIEVAL EUROPE
TO ILLUSTRATE THE CRUSADES
To Norway
SCOTLAND
IRELAND
WALES
ENGLAND
NORWAY
SWEDEN
DENMARK
Lund
Novgorod
Moscow
LITHUANIA
PRUSSIA
SAXONY
K. OF POLAND
RUSSIA
Kiev
FLANDERS
NORMANDY
CHAMPAGNE
BRITTANY
BURGUNDY
THE KINGDOM OF FRANCE
FRANCONIA
SWABIA
AUSTRIA
EMPIRE
Clermont
AQUITAINE
LOMBARDY
K. OF HUNGARY
Under Constantinople
K. OF LEON
GASCONY
TOULOUSE
ARLES
CHRISTIAN SPAIN
K. OF ARAGON
K. OF CASTILE
Lisbon
K. OF PORTUGAL
TUSCANY
Zara
GEORGIA
Bulgarians
PATRIARCHATE OF
CORSICA
PATRIMONY OF ST. PETER
Constantinople
Trebizond
MOHAMMEDAN SPAIN
SARDINIA
K. OF TWO SICILIES
BYZANTINE EMPIRE
Nicaea
Selukian Turks
CONSTANTINOPLE
Edessa
PATRIARCHATE OF ANTIOCH
K. ARMENIA
Antioch
Tunis
CYPRUS
TRIPOLIS
Bagdad
CANDIA
Beyrout
Tyre
Acre
Damascus
Joppa
Jerusalem
KING. OF JERUSALEM (1099)
PATRIARCHATE OF JERUSALEM
Damietta
Alexandria
PAT. OF ALEXANDRIA
Longitude 5° West
Longitude 15° East from Greenwich

The Byzantine Empire, moreover, recovered from the impotence it had shown to stem the invasion which had advanced so far that in 717 Constantinople had almost fallen before the Saracen fleet and army. The City found a deliverer in Leo, the Isaurian, who saved his capital and reorganized his Empire. From this time for many generations the Romans of the East held Asia Minor firmly against all attempts of the Moslem; and the Empire advanced with renewed strength for more than two centuries after the reforms of Leo. Under the Macedonian dynasty, it showed amazing vitality; and in the days of Basil II reached its highest level of prosperity; and its boundaries actually extended from the Adriatic to the Euphrates. After his death in 1025, signs of weakness began to reveal themselves; and in 1063 the Emperor Romanus Diogenes was defeated by the Turkish Sultan Alp Arslan in battle. This was followed by the establishment of the Sultanate of Rûm (Rome) in the heart of Asia Minor. The Abbasid caliphate, however, was constantly becoming weaker; and in 968 Egypt fell into the hands of the Fatimid dynasty. Under this rule the Christians and Jews no longer enjoyed the toleration which the Saracens had accorded to them on principle; but were subject to the caprice of tyrants, who alternately persecuted and petted them.

The most formidable of these was Hakim (996–1020), who claimed divine honours, and became the founder of the sect of the Druses of Mount Lebanon. His was the period of the great persecution of non-Moslems in Egypt.

All this combined to make a great effort on the part of Christendom against Islam a political as well as a religious necessity. Not only was there a danger that the Holy Sepulchre might no longer be accessible to the devout, but it appeared as though the Turks might at any time capture Constantinople. Yet a campaign of the Western Christians against the Moslem power had certain favourable prospects.

Since 1091 the Normans had been masters of Sicily, which had long been occupied by the Saracens; and if the Byzantines had lost ground, they at least held all the islands of the Ægean

Sea together with Crete and Cyprus. Regarded in a purely secular aspect, therefore, an attack by the Christian world on that of the Moslems was no means without prospect of success, had it only been possible for the two Churches and Empires to act in harmony. But the arrogant ambition of Michael Cerularius in reviving the ancient grievances of Constantinople against Rome had made such a combination difficult. A pretext had, however, to be found in order to unite the races of the West in the enterprise.

The victories of the Crescent did not put an end to pilgrimages to Jerusalem by Christians, which the Arab conquerors had understood and appreciated. Just at the time of Charles the Great's coronation at Rome, the Caliph Haroun al Rashid granted the Western Emperor the Church of the Holy Sepulchre: thus Charles became the patron of the Christians visiting Palestine. The Frankish Monarch continued to be recognised as the Christian protector of pilgrims till the eleventh century.

With the accession of the Fatimid dynasty the benevolent attitude of the Moslem rulers towards the Christian pilgrims ceased, and in 1009 Hakim destroyed the church of the Holy Sepulchre; and his persecution of his Jewish and Christian subjects lasted till 1020. In 1027 Constantine VIII made a treaty with Al-Zahir, son of Hakim; and thus the Byzantine Emperors became protectors of the Christians. The church of the Sepulchre was rebuilt and finished in 1048, when Constantine IX (Monomachus) was Emperor and Nicephorus patriarch of Constantinople. During the eleventh century pilgrimages were constant; and those who joined them experienced little serious trouble. The conversion of Hungary opened a convenient route for the peoples of Western Europe; hostels were established by the way, and men became familiar with the different roads to the Holy Places. Even the schism of the Churches failed to stay the flood of pilgrims, who sometimes went in companies numbering thousands. It was really the success of the Turks, and the grave peril of the Eastern Christian world, which aroused Western Europe to

make an effort to deliver the places most holy in the eyes of believers from infidels more barbarous and cruel than the original followers of the Prophet. The first to suggest an expedition analogous to a crusade was Gregory VII in the early years of his pontificate. In a letter to Henry IV the Pope offered himself to go at the head of an army to deliver the oppressed Christians of the East. But it was not for twenty-two years that definite steps to this end were taken.

Popular opinion attributes the preaching of the Crusades to the fervent eloquence of Peter the Hermit, who went throughout Europe proclaiming the suffering and degradation to which the Christian pilgrims to Jerusalem were subjected. That he was a preacher of the holy war is certain; but nearly half a century had to elapse before he was generally credited with having originated the plan to deliver Palestine from the infidel. The idea as has been remarked was due to Gregory VII, and took shape ten years after his death under his next successor but one. If the credit of inaugurating the movement belongs to Urban II, he must have been a man of exceptional sagacity and political insight. At the council of Piacenza (1095), at the very moment the fortunes of Henry IV had reached their nadir, with his rebellious son Conrad supported by the Church, with his wife making charges of unmentionable atrocity against him, which were accepted without hesitation by the assembled prelates, Urban proclaimed his grand scheme for saving the Eastern Empire from the Moslems, and rescuing the Holy Sepulchre from profanation. Nor did he appeal to the irrational impulse which led the humbler classes to start on a journey eastward in tumultuous disorder; he summoned the best armies of Europe to lay aside their feuds and unite to save Christendom. The expedition if successful promised unbounded glory and influence for the clergy of the West and for the Holy See. With the Western Empire at his feet humbled in the person of Henry IV, with the Eastern Cæsar acknowledging him as his deliverer, with an army consisting of the flower of European chivalry marching at his command, the mastery of the world seemed within the grasp of the Vicar of

Christ. All that Gregory VII had striven for—the Christianization of all men and the formation of a league of nations living in peace and harmony—might be attained by the new movement under the Roman Church.

As a Frenchman, Urban II sought for help to further his bold policy in his own country; and Clermont was the scene of the inauguration of the first crusade. The fact that the crusading impulse emanated from a French pope and found its chief adherents on French soil has had a powerful influence on the world policy of subsequent centuries; for France has never lost sight of the claim she then acquired to play a prominent part in the affairs of the nearer East. Urban's speech as reported played on every string of the human nature of the age. It appealed to the romantic spirit, to the desire of glory, to the hope of certain entry into heaven, to the prospect of the wealth of the conquered enemies. He promised remission of penance to all who should take the Cross; and from the Council of Clermont, as is admitted even by Roman Catholics, dates the relaxation of the discipline of the Church, which was so fatal to the morality of later ages. The enthusiasm was immense: with cries of "God wills it," multitudes took the cross. Nor was this a mere form; all the terrors of excommunication threatened crusaders who would not go when called upon. Everywhere the bishops were enjoined to preach the Crusade. But the enthusiasm was not confined to the class whom it was desired to reach. Owing to the preaching of Peter the Hermit and others, the humblest were seized with a restless mania to wander in search of Jerusalem. Whole families moved from home with all their belongings in ox wagons, the credulous people asking when they saw a distant city, "Is this Jerusalem?" These irregular bands spread devastation on all sides; first they pillaged and massacred the Jews, then they rendered themselves intolerable in Hungary where many perished at the hands of the enraged inhabitants. Arrived at Constantinople the Emperor Alexius Comnenus let them cross into Asia Minor where most were annihilated by the Turks. Few returned of the irregular armies which under Walter the

Pennyless started in quest of the Holy Sepulchre. The real Crusade was conducted with more deliberation and under different auspices.

There were four armies. The first, under Godfrey de Bouillon, Duke of Lower Lorraine and his brother Baldwin, followed the Danube; they then passed through Hungary and reached Constantinople on December 23, 1096. A second, led by Hugh, brother of Philip I of France, Robert, son of William the Conqueror, and Stephen, Count of Blois, embarked from Apulia and crossed to Dyrrachium, whence they took the Egnatian way to Constantinople. This army reached Constantinople by May, 1097, and there joined the main force at Nicea. The Southern French, under the Count of Toulouse, formed the third army and were accompanied by the Bishop of Puy, the papal legate. After a toilsome journey through Servia and Dalmatia these came to Constantinople at the end of April, 1097. The Normans of Southern Italy, under Robert Guiscard's eldest son Bohemond, and his nephew Tancred, formed the fourth army. By May, 1097, the entire crusading force was in Asia Minor. In June Nicea was taken by the Crusaders from the Turks, and on July 1st their victory on the plains of Dorylæum opened to their army the road across Asia Minor. The first principality founded by the Westerns in the East was that of Edessa, taken by Baldwin, brother of Godfrey de Bouillon on March 9, 1098. On June 2, 1098, Antioch was in the hands of the Crusaders. It was nearly a year before the march to Jerusalem was resumed; and the Crusaders were distracted by their intestine disputes and by the factions of the Count of Toulouse and the Norman chiefs. The possession of Jerusalem at this time was disputed by the Turks and the Fatimites of Egypt and the Egyptians had retaken the city from their rivals in August, 1098. The Christian army appeared before its walls in June, 1099, and on July 15th the city was captured. Every excess conceivable seems to have been perpetrated by the crusading army, and their victory was marked by a series of unspeakable atrocities.

The news that Jerusalem was in Christian hands, naturally

caused much enthusiasm in Europe, and the crusading armies were largely reinforced, the Germans who had thus far held aloof being now infected by the common enthusiasm. Though the difficulties of the victorious hosts were still considerable, they set to work to organize the various Christian principalities which had been founded, on a plan which is an excellent illustration of the operation of feudal law.

The first Crusade had left the whole coast between Egypt and Asia Minor in Christian hands. Its divisions were (1) the Kingdom of Jerusalem, which stretched southward as far as the Red Sea and northward to the Lebanon; (2) the Duchy of Tripoli, north of the Kingdom; (3) the Principality of Antioch; and (4) the Duchy of Edessa. Under a single capable head these provinces might united have proved a formidable bulwark of Christendom despite the ever threatening menace of the Moslems. But the conquest had been inspired by the Pope and accomplished by feudal barons, mostly French, and the territory it had acquired had the disadvantage of being governed by an aristocratic theocracy. Still, considering its dangerous position and the defects of its government, it prospered wonderfully. At the head was the king of Jerusalem, whose power was jealously limited by his barons in their Court of Liegemen or High Court; supplemented by the Court of Burgesses. In every fief the power of the lord was restrained by a mixed assembly of knights and burgesses. In fact a parliamentary government was set up in a new country, unimpeded by tradition or ancient prescriptive rights; and in the constitution of the crusading kingdom of Jerusalem there is a practical attempt to realise the ideal government of the eleventh century. Military service was made more effective than in other feudal kingdoms. The king was the commander of the army which was bound to serve not for a limited period, but for the whole war. But the soldiers received pay, and were indemnified for the loss of their horses and animals.

But although the feudal army of the kingdom of Jerusalem was an improvement on those of Europe, it could not have the same efficiency as a professional soldiery. This was supplied

by the monastic military orders, the first of which was the Hospitallers. They were founded for the purpose of defending pilgrims and caring for the sick; but in 1113, under Gerard de Puy, they became a military order, pledged to fight the infidel in defence of the Christian states. In 1118 nine knights vowed to the Patriarch of Jerusalem to observe a rule of poverty, chastity and obedience. The king gave them a lodging near the Temple and they called themselves "Knights Templars." This famous order was divided into three grades: Knights, all of whom were noble; Sergeants, belonging to the middle class; and Chaplains. These two orders formed the standing army of the Frankish conquerors of Palestine and were free alike of civil and episcopal control, being subject only to the Pope. They held all the strongest fortresses in the country as well as immense estates in Europe. They were indeed one of the strongest organizations in the world, combining the monastic and military professions, both of which were held in the highest esteem.

The Latin Church was also firmly established. The Patriarchate of Jerusalem was the spiritual lord of the Holy Land, and of hardly less importance than the king. He ruled over five metropolitans. There were also numerous and wealthy monasteries. The various bodies separated from the Greek Church, Nestorians, Monophysites, etc., hastened to unite to the Church and their adherents formed the middle class in Christian Palestine.

Trade also developed rapidly and the Christian world came in touch with the far East. Certainly the advantages of the Crusades were not all either religious or sentimental. New wealth was created, new ideals inaugurated, fresh energy given to the society of the Western world. As has been shown, an ideal feudal government had been evolved of a limited monarchy, with all classes represented and a great impulse towards Christian unity had begun. It is now necessary to see wherein were the elements of failure.

The Eastern Empire could not free itself from jealousy at the progress of the barbarian Franks of the West. Yet the struggle was not between the rival Emperors; for the German

Cæsars, Henry IV and V and Lothar, took no part in the Crusades. The crusading kingdom was in fact an international enterprise—all nations contributed to its population, though the main element was French. But the fatal effects of the movement were hereafter to be seen in the blow it struck at the power of Constantinople, the real bulwark of Christian Europe.

The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and its dependent principalities, instead of maintaining good relations with the only neighbouring Christian power, was at constant variance with the Byzantines. It was the policy of the Emperors to regard Antioch as a fief and to make the crusading princes do homage for their possessions. This the Prince of Antioch and the Count of Edessa rendered with much reluctance; and, as though they had not enough to do to guard their dominions against the encroaching Moslem powers, they had not the prudence to conciliate the Greeks.

At the end of 1144 Edessa was captured by the Atabek of Mossul and in the following year Pope Eugenius III, under the more powerful influence of St. Bernard, declared for a crusade. At Vézelay, in France, and at Spires, in Germany, the eloquence of Bernard prevailed and the crusade was commanded by Louis VII, king of France, and the Emperor Conrad III. If this, the second crusade, lacked the spontaneous enthusiasm of the first, at least it embarked under more specious auspices, preached by the leading saint and most influential churchman of the age, and supported by the two great monarchs of the Latin West. But it ended in a pitiable disaster and the conduct of the German soldiers on the march completely alienated the sympathy of the Byzantine Christians. The French were better disciplined and less obnoxious to the Greeks; nevertheless it is significant that Louis VII was advised to attack Constantinople in conjunction with Roger, king of Sicily. The diplomacy of Manuel Comnenus prevented this alliance, the idea of which was carried out little more than a generation later.

In most popular accounts of the Crusades little or noth-

ing is frequently related about the Eastern Empire; and it used to be very widely assumed that the Byzantine Cæsars were effeminate princes who spent their lives in luxurious retirement, hedged in by a ridiculous court etiquette, whilst their dominions were being steadily diminished. It is therefore necessary to remind the reader that from 1081 to 1181 there were three successive Emperors with long reigns, all distinguished above their contemporaries for their prudence, goodness and martial vigour. Despite the crushing defeat of Romanus Diogenes by the Seljukian Turks in 1071 and the establishment of the sultanate of Rûm in the heart of Asia Minor, the Eastern Empire was still a great naval and military power, which even the Normans were compelled to respect. All the house of Comnenus were men of distinction; and the three Emperors whose reign covers the twelfth century were worthy of being classed among the great rulers of the world. Alexius Comnenus, who received the Empire at the point of extinction and restored it to a position of influence, was, as is witnessed by his attitude towards the Crusaders, one of the most prudent of princes. His son John, according to a popular story called by his subjects John the Handsome, because, though insignificant and unsightly in appearance, his was the best of rulers, has been called the Byzantine Marcus Aurelius. John's successor, Manuel, was an intrepid, if not always successful warrior, as fearless in exposing himself to danger as any French or Norman knight. The adventures of Andronicus, the last of this series of emperors, are in themselves a veritable romance. It is now no longer possible to draw a sharp contrast between the vigorous and progressive Franks and the effeminate Greek rulers of the twelfth century.

The rise of Nour-ed-din, and later of Salah-ed-din, better known as Saladin, brought about a third expedition from the West. Egypt had been under the sway of the Fatimite caliphs, who were not orthodox; and to this was in part due the weakness of the Moslem world. The kingdom of Jerusalem was already extending southward and a Christian conquest of Egypt

was at one time conceivable. But the rise of a great leader gave strength and unity to Islam, and was the signal for the downfall of the Christian kingdom. In 1154 Nour-ed-din from Damascus began to threaten the Christian principality of Antioch. But though he took prisoner Bohemond III and the Count of Tripoli the power of the Comnenian emperors was too great to allow him to attack Antioch itself. Nour-ed-din died in 1174, and the victorious career of Saladin began. Master of the Mohammedan world of Egypt, Syria, and the possessions of the Seljukian Turks in Asia Minor, Saladin completely hemmed in the Christian states in the East; but it was not he who provoked the quarrel which led to their downfall. To this the collapse of the dynasty of the Comneni contributed; for the last of that able house, Andronicus, a brutal but not incapable tyrant, made way for Isaac Angelus, under whom the ancient vigour of New Rome seemed to decay. But the disorganization of the Christian states in Syria, due in part to the fact that the Templars owned no ruler but the absent Pope, brought about the catastrophe. Renaud de Chatillon, the Grand Master, disregarding the treaty between the Christians and Moslems, attacked a caravan and captured Saladin's sister. This was the signal for war and the Christian army was utterly defeated by the Lake of Tiberias in July, 1187; and on October 2d of the same year Saladin entered Jerusalem. Only Tyre and Antioch remained in Christian hands. The work of nearly a century was undone: a third crusade became necessary.

But the Europe in which the holy war was preached was not that of Urban II, of Godfrey de Bouillon, and of Peter the Hermit. The appeal of Pope Clement III was readily responded to by the princes of Europe; but there was none of the popular enthusiasm of the First Crusade. Policy as much as piety moved the armies of the Cross.

There were two expeditions—the German under the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa; and the French and English, commanded respectively by Philip Augustus and Richard Cœur de Lion. The imperial army, numbering, according to

the chroniclers, a hundred thousand men or more, took the land route through the Byzantine dominions. Their advance was marked by a violence and brutality which still further alienated the sympathies of the Greeks from the cause of the crusaders. On June 10, 1190, a disastrous accident cost the Emperor Frederic I his life when crossing a river in Asia Minor, and put an end to the expedition. Only a few plague stricken survivors of the great army reached the crusading force before St. Jean d'Acre. The crusade centred itself around this city, the siege of which is one of the most famous in history. From 1189 to 1191 it resisted the immense Christian army; but in the end it capitulated.

Richard I of England on his way to the Holy Land was driven to the shores of Cyprus and captured the island from Isaac Comnenus, who had been proclaimed emperor by the inhabitants. This was the first direct blow struck by a crusader against the Empire of Constantinople, which never recovered the island thus unscrupulously seized by the English monarch. Richard sold Cyprus, first to the Templars, and later to Guy de Lusignan, king of Jerusalem. But despite the capture of Acre and the valour of Cœur de Lion, the Third Crusade did not succeed in taking Jerusalem. The quarrels among the crusading chiefs, notably Philip Augustus and Richard, made concerted action impossible and even the death of Saladin in 1193 did not enable the Christians to gain the Holy City. All that Richard could do, not by arms but by negotiation, was to secure English pilgrims access to Jerusalem.

The last act of the drama of the long Third Crusade, which lasted till 1198, was an attempt of the imperial house of Hohenstaufen, under Henry VI, to gain supremacy in the East. But the emperor died at Messina, September 28, 1197, and in the following year peace was signed and the Christians left in possession of the port of Beyrout. One of the permanent results of the German crusade was the establishment of the Teutonic Order on the model of the Hospitallers and Templars. The fame of these knights was, however, destined to be gained far away from Palestine.

The story of the Crusades is by no means finished in 1198; but the spirit of the first soldiers of the Cross was already practically dead. Though doubtless unaware of the fact, most of the princes who took the Cross were fighting, not a holy war, but one with the object of finding an outlet for the commerce of Europe. The ports of Palestine, not the Holy Sepulchre, was the chief object of most expeditions. The pure enthusiasm of an earlier day had vanished, and given way to the modern theory that the "trade follows the flag." The Fourth Crusade about to be described is one of the most shameful episodes in Christian history.

Innocent III, who was chosen pope in 1198, was in some respects the ablest of all the medieval pontiffs. Cardinal Lothar, of the noble house of Segni, was elected at the age of thirty-eight, and threw into his task the energy of youth combined with the ripe experience of a man bred to the work of administration. The political situation at the time of his accession was unusually delicate. The Norman ascendancy in Sicily had passed by marriage into the hands of the Emperors of the Swabian house of Hohenstaufen, and the power of Germany in the East was becoming formidable to the papal influence. Henry VI's crusade was, in fact, a menace to the papal power; as already the idea of annexing the empire of the Greeks by seizing Constantinople had been broached. With the city of Rome and the papal dominions held as in a vice by a monarch, master of Northern and Southern Italy, especially if he also possessed Constantinople and could support the claims of its Patriarch, the hope that the Papacy could control the world would be at an end. Innocent III recognised this; and resolved that the next crusade after the death of Henry VI must be a papal, not an imperial, thrust to the East. For this reason he devoted himself heart and soul to the project.

In two respects the Fourth Crusade resembled the First. Its leaders were not kings; and it is associated with the preaching of Fulk of Neuilly, as the First was with that of Peter the Hermit. The principal crusaders were the Count of Champagne, Simon de Montfort (the elder), the Count of Blois and Geoffry

of Villehardouin, Marshal of Champagne, and the historian of the war. Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat, had been chosen as commander when the army was ready for departure. But the real directing power was not that of Pope, preacher, or prince, but the Venetians, the most active traders of this age.

The expedition was planned to embark at Venice. The nobles and their retainers on their arrival found all prepared to convey them to their destination upon payment of their fares. As the money was not forthcoming, the Venetians insisted on their working for it by assisting in the capture of the Christian city of Zara from the king of Hungary. The scandalous agreement was opposed by the better crusaders; but the expedition started accompanied by Dandolo, the blind Doge of Venice, who himself took the Cross. Zara was captured in November, 1202.

Affairs in Constantinople invited western intervention. The emperor, Isaac Angelus, had been blinded and deposed; and his successor Alexius III, was bidding against his nephew Alexius, the son of Isaac. The Pisans, the commercial rivals of the Venetians, were favoured by the reigning Emperor, and the Venetians, who naturally supported the deposed Isaac and his son, persuaded the crusaders to go to Constantinople in order to restore the rightful sovereign. The semibarbarous Latins were amazed at the sight of the beautiful city, which had survived all the devastation of the Dark Ages and lay before their eyes in all its splendor. But the glories of New Rome neither daunted their courage nor moved them to compunction. There were two sieges, in 1203 and 1204; and on April 13th the imperial city was abandoned to the brutality of the crusaders. Its wealth was pillaged, the art of antiquity perished, the altars and shrines were not spared, and piety throughout Europe was stimulated by gifts of relics ravished from the churches of the Greeks. This amazing crime was followed by the establishment of the short-lived Latin Empire in Constantinople. No one protested more earnestly and vigorously against what had been done than Innocent III; but he was obliged to submit to the inevitable and to recognise the new order.

Before, however, describing the establishment of the Latin kingdom it is necessary to review the situation. Throughout the twelfth century the Greeks had shown themselves full of vigour and enterprise. Despite the inrush of the Seljukian Turks and the establishment of the sultanate of Rûm, they had held their own and even compelled the Latin princes of Syria to acknowledge their supremacy. Three emperors, men of ability, reigned, as has been already stated, for ninety-nine years—Alexius I, famed for his skilful diplomacy, John for his virtue, and Manuel, the knight errant of the Eastern Empire. With the fall of the Comneni virtue seemed to have gone out of the Greeks; but even then they were able to recover sufficiently once more to set up their native princes in Constantinople in 1261. But the conduct of the crusaders had done worse than weaken the ancient Empire, the eastern bulwark of the Christian world. Richard I, by taking Cyprus, and the Venetians and their allies, by sacking Constantinople, completed the schism provoked by the ambition of Michael Cerularius and aggravated by the arrogance of the Latin envoys in excommunicating the Patriarch in his own cathedral. Henceforward distrust of the Latins became rooted in the Greek mind; and Western Christianity appeared more dangerous than Islam itself. Coöperation was henceforward almost impossible and the empire of Turkey in Europe, though deferred for more than two centuries, became inevitable.

The news that Constantinople was taken was received with enthusiasm in the West. The Pope, though he had excommunicated the Venetians for turning a crusading army against Christians, was compelled to accept the situation. By his consent a Latin Empire and Patriarchate were established. The choice of the electors to the Empire fell not, as might have been expected, upon Boniface of Montferrat, but on account of the opposition of the Venetians, upon Baldwin, Count of Flanders. The Patriarchate was given by the Venetians to their countryman Morosini. The new empire was organised on purely feudal lines, and lacked the coherence indispensable to the rule of foreigners; the Church, despite the prudent efforts of Innocent

III and his legate the Cardinal of St. Susanna, was arrogantly Latin. The Greeks set up independent kingdoms, the most notable being the Empire of Nicæa, which became the rallying point of the discontented clergy as well as laity. At last Michael Palæologus obtained the assistance of the Genoese against the Venetians, who had hitherto been masters of the situation, and by their aid, the last Latin emperor, Baldwin II, evacuated Constantinople in 1261, and the Greeks were once more in possession of their capital.

The opening of the thirteenth century witnessed new departures in the development of Christianity. It is often asserted that in this century the high water mark of medieval civilization was attained. Judged by the men who were born or flourished within it, the age is one of the most glorious in history. Innocent III, St. Dominic and St. Francis, Thomas Aquinas and Dante, to name only the most prominent, would ennoble any century, but judged by its fruits it is one of the most disastrous in history. The capture of Constantinople, the establishment of the Inquisition, following the cruel Albigensian war, the malignity with which the Popes pursued the house of Hohenstaufen to its destruction, throw over the period a cloud of infamy; and not the least of the disgraces of the time was the perversion and ruin of the Crusades. Within the first sixteen years, under Innocent III, there occurred, first the capture of Constantinople, secondly the hideous abuse of the crusading spirit by directing it, under the same promise of pardon as was given to those who warred against the infidel, to wage war against heretics in Christian Europe; and lastly, those deplorable and unaccountable outbursts of fanaticism, like the Children's Crusade, with the miserable result of many wretched children being kidnapped and sold in the slave markets.

Before the death of Innocent III the Emperor Frederic II took the Cross; and at the great Council of the Lateran (1215) a crusade was proclaimed and was ordered to start on June 1, 1217. But with the Christian states in the West at hopeless variance, and with the imminence of a struggle be-

tween the Papacy and the Empire, which was destined to throw all earlier ones into the shade, there was but little hope that Christendom could hold its own against the reviving strength of Islam. By 1291, with the fall of St. Jean d'Acre, the last traces of Christian domination in Palestine had entirely disappeared. The causes which led to this result and ultimately to the appearance of the Turks in Europe must now be considered.

The crusade begun in 1218 differed from the earlier ones on the principal attack being delivered against Egypt, and in the political game which throughout its course was being played between the Church and Empire. Frederic II ought to have been the leader; but for nine years he repeatedly made preparations to start and deferred doing so. In the meantime the conduct of the expedition was in the hands of the papal legate, and of Jean de Brienne, titular king of Jerusalem, whose daughter Frederic had married. Frederic's delays, and his known ambitions, so provoked the Pope that Gregory IX actually excommunicated him on September 19, 1227; and Frederic II's expedition to the East in the following year transferred the bitter quarrel to the scene of the Crusade. The Grand Masters of the Orders of Knighthood forbade their soldiers to obey the excommunicated Emperor, and the friars openly preached against him. Nevertheless Frederic succeeded where others had failed; and by peaceful negotiation Jerusalem, Nazareth and Bethlehem were handed over to the Christians in 1229.

But it was only for a short time. The quarrel between Frederic II and the Papacy divided Europe and the Christian power in the East decayed. Then came the Mongol invasion, which threatened Germany and even Venice, and overspread Hungary with ruin. Turning southward the Mongols made a treaty with the Sultan of Egypt, and in 1244 Jerusalem once more passed out of Christian hands.

Rightly to understand the disasters to the Christian cause in the following years it is necessary to follow closely the politics of Western Europe, the currents and cross currents of which made the fall of the kingdom of Jerusalem inevitable.

The only character, among the leading men, who emerges with credit is Louis IX of France, one of the few monarchs who attained to sanctity by the honest discharge of his duty and by his capacity to show himself superior to the factions, whether imperial or papal, which divided Christendom, and almost brought it to ruin. In 1248 Louis embarked for Egypt and in the following year, on June 7th, he captured Damietta. In December he advanced on Babylon (Cairo) to meet with a fatal defeat in which the Christian army was destroyed and the king and his brother, Charles of Anjou, made prisoners. Louis was liberated on condition of his evacuating Damietta and paying a large ransom; but he stayed in the Holy Land for four years trying to strengthen the cause of the Cross and to obtain favourable treatment for the Christian prisoners in Egypt. It was not till 1254, on hearing of the death of his mother Blanche of Castile, who had acted as regent, that he returned to France. But the Christian cause was being lost, not in Palestine and Egypt, but at home. The popes were bent on the destruction of the power of the Hohenstaufen dynasty. Frederic II died in 1250 and the popes involved themselves in a policy which was destined to destroy their influence by placing their defence in the hands of Charles of Anjou. That ambitious prince shattered the last hope of the Hohenstaufen at the battle of Tagliacozzo in 1268, became king of the two Sicilies, and attempted to carry out for his own benefit the policy of Henry VI and Frederic II. For this reason all plans for uniting Europe in a crusade were thwarted; and even the union of the Greek and Latin churches, proclaimed at Lyons in 1274, was prevented by the selfish schemes of the Christian princes. The crusade of Louis IX against Tunis in 1270 was marked by the death of the royal saint whose enterprises have been the cause of the French ambitions in Mohammedan lands, which revived in the nineteenth century. In addition to the strife of princes in Europe, the two mercantile powers of Venice and Genoa were striving for the trade supremacy in the East, and were quite prepared to sacrifice that of Christianity in order to defeat one another in the race for wealth. The crusading spirit was

in fact dead. The mamelukes of Egypt who had succeeded to the dynasty of Saladin once more gained, from Christian and Mongol alike, the supremacy of Palestine. St. Jean d'Acre, the last great crusading stronghold, surrendered after a glorious defence; and in 1291 the kingdom of Jerusalem came to an end.

To understand the crusading movement it is necessary to disabuse the mind of two opposite prejudices. To some the very name crusade suggests romance. The soldiers of the Cross are in sharp contrast to all other warriors. Inspired by a high ideal they left home and lands to fight for a cause which could bring them no profit in this world. To save the Sepulchre of Christ, the scenes of His labours, and of our redemption, they dedicated their arms to His service. This makes the Middle Ages with all their faults superior to those of the modern world. Then men were ready to do and to dare all for what they believed to be the will of God, and the recumbent figure of the knight in an ancient church, with his hands in the attitude of prayer and his legs crossed, is a reminder that there was a time when men had nobler ideals than we now cherish.

On the other hand, there are those to whom the crusades appear to be the crowning point of human folly and ecclesiastical wickedness. The Church, according to these, stirred up the worst of men to attack a people more advanced in civilization, and induced them to go to their ruin by vain promises of future happiness. The crusades are the ripened fruit of the ignorance, prejudices, and superstition of the Dark Ages. They are the crowning crime of medieval Europe, the supreme example of that infatuation which a bad religion is able to inspire.

Neither estimate is true. The noble spirit of the crusades was by no means universal, nor was the folly everywhere apparent. The crusades were the outcome of the awakening of Western Europe in the eleventh century. It was not senseless fanaticism which made men realise the importance of Palestine. True they were attracted by the thought that it was the scene of the Saviour's life, but it was also the key to the Empire and

commerce of the East. It was the base also from which Egypt could be won back for the Christian world, and this project seemed at times capable of being accomplished. The crusades were in short an attempt to solve the problem of today—the settlement of the question of the nearer East. They failed because the powers of the West could not be brought to cooperate. Each feared the others' success. When the Papacy seemed likely to be the chief gainer, the Empire intervened; when the German sovereigns appeared to be in the way of establishing themselves as the Christian masters of the Mediterranean, France stepped in to secure the prize. The Byzantines, in the days of their power under the Comneni, tried to secure the lands conquered by the Franks, and the Franks retaliated by abusing the weakness of Constantinople. Properly conducted the crusades might have saved Europe untold suffering. The chances of success were often of the brightest. But all was marred by the disorganization of the armies of the Cross, and the anarchy of the Christian states in the East. Not for the last time did the crusades show the futility of the concert of the powers, the joint action of Christian armies, spheres of influence, and leagues of nations. If they succeeded better than some modern attempts and had more durable results, they failed for very similar reasons.

The loss of St. Jean d'Acre in 1291 is one of the landmarks of the Middle Ages. Christendom, which had been constantly advancing during the previous centuries, began to recede not only in the territory which it occupied in its ideals. It was the same in one sense with its great rival, the religion of Mohammed. True this was destined vastly to increase the sphere of its influence; but whereas, till the death of Saladin it had competed with Christianity as a civilizing power, after the middle of the thirteenth century it became identified with barbarism.

The reason for this decline is to be found in the rise of the Mongol power in the remote East. The hordes of barbarians who had overwhelmed the Roman world in Europe had all acknowledged the religion of the Cross and were incorporated

in the churches of Old or New Rome. But with the rise of the mighty empire of Genghis Khan in central Asia the Mongols overran Eastern Europe, reduced Russia to subjection, and spread terror throughout Hungary and the Balkans. Others established their authority in Persia, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, and Syria.

The invaders at first maintained a strict impartiality as to religion. Nestorian Christians were in their army and the Khans showed an interest in the Faith, nor did they reject the preachers of Catholic doctrine. In fact the Christians looked not without hope towards the invaders to assist them against Islam. For a brief period there was a surprising revival of missionary activity in the Western Church, into which the Friars threw themselves with enthusiasm. China seemed to be opening to their efforts and the travels of such men as the Polos, Venetian merchants, paved the way for the Gospel.

Although there were no more Christian expeditions to conquer the Holy Land, the interest in the crusades had by no means ceased, and, if the pen had been mightier than the sword, Jerusalem would have been easily brought under the dominion of the Cross. A literature to account for the failure of the crusades sprang up and innumerable theories were advanced to secure future success. The rising school of French lawyers were especially active, notably Pierre Dubois of Coutances, and William of Nogaret. In 1307 Dubois addressed his treatise, "On the recovery of the Holy Land" to Edward I of England, who had always taken an interest in the crusades, since his own expedition to the East in 1270. Like all other writers Dubois attributed the loss of Palestine to the discords among the Christian princes. To remedy this evil a general council was to be held to reconcile them all, and engage them in the great enterprise. The Church was to be purified by the confiscation of its property, and the Cardinals were to live in holy poverty in France, whither the Pope was to repair after ceding his temporal power to Philip the Fair. Above all the quarrels of the two military orders were to be ended by the fusion of the Templars and the Hospitallers into

a single body. With the immense church revenues a Christian army was to be formed of which each prince was to contribute his quota. The armies of the different nations were to be strictly disciplined and to march each under its own banner, and distinguished from the others by a peculiar uniform. Each city was to have its own "dux belli." But, as the real obstacle to success was the persistent commerce which the Christians carried on with infidels, an international court of three bishops and three laymen was to be created, with power to punish any nation guilty of treasonable intercourse with the enemy. Schools were to be established to teach oriental languages, and to promote intercourse with the Christians of the East. Such were the theories advanced in the book *De recuperatione Terræ Sanctæ.* William of Nogaret was more intent on the practical scheme of ruining the Order of the Templars for the benefit of the French crown. This crime, as will appear hereafter, for whatever may have been the faults of the Knights, there is no doubt as to their military efficiency, was perpetrated by intrigue with the Papacy, and by legal chicane.

But everything in the fourteenth century contributed to the abandonment of the East by the Western powers of Europe. The papal government had been moved to Avignon in France, and the prestige of the institution had fallen far below that which it had previously, and in a measure deservedly, enjoyed. No longer was it possible for a papal excommunication to convulse a kingdom. In vain did pope after pope launch thunders against those who dared to trade with Egypt. Spiritual terrors could not make men disregard the interests of finance. Friar Florentine of Padua showed that Egypt could be conquered by a three years' commercial boycott; but this did not prevent the Venetians from supplying that country with indispensable commodities, even selling Christian slaves destined to swell the ranks of the formidable army of mamelukes. In addition to this the hundred years' war between England and France had broken out and prevented either nation from crusading enterprises. As for the Empire it was hopelessly weakened by its strife with the Papacy, and besides the invading Mongols were

threatening its frontiers. The days of the Council of Clermont with its cry of "God wills it," could never return.

A nobler side to the gloomy picture is the extension of Western Christian missions in the far East. St. Francis of Assisi started to preach to the Moslems in 1212 and a few years later appeared before the Sultan of Egypt and declared his message. He was dismissed with the honour which Mohammedans often pay to the inspired even though professing another religion. It is recorded of him that he endeavoured to prevent the Christians from engaging in battle with the Saracens, and he left behind him eleven of his disciples to declare the Gospel. In 1220 a Franciscan province was organized by Brother Benedict of Arizzo. But the great missionary of the century was Raymond Lull, who planned his work on almost modern lines. Son of a Catalonian noble who had settled in Majorca, Lull had lived a secular life devoting his time to learning and the gay science of the troubadours. Becoming more serious he abandoned the world after providing for his wife, and devoted himself to the study of missionary work. In 1275 he planned his "Grand Art," in which he endeavoured to combine all knowledge. By his persuasion the King of Majorca founded a monastery for thirty Franciscan friars to study Arabic. For ten years Lull gave them instruction, and wrote Arabic tracts wherewith to convert the Mohammedans. He recognised that the Gospel could not be propagated by force of arms, that crusading was the wrong method, and that what was needed was to try Christ's manner of converting mankind. He spent his life advocating the cause of his mission before popes, kings, and councils, notably that of Vienne in 1311. He went to Tunis and preached in constant danger of his life, and after suffering persecution and imprisonment was discovered, though disguised as an Arab, and put to death in 1314, a martyr in his eightieth year.

The remoter East seemed to offer a more promising field, and in 1253 there was a Society of "Voyagers for Christ" formed at the suggestion of St. Louis, *Peregrinantes proper Christum*, founded by Innocent IV and composed of Francis-

cans and Dominicans. At the beginning of the fourteenth century most of Asia was part of a vast Mongol empire, the head of which with the title of "Son of Heaven" made Kambalik (Pekin) his residence, and his authority extended over China, Mongolia, Thibet and Indo China. The other great Mongol kingdoms were those of the Golden Horde—Russia, including the Caspian and the Ural mountains, Persarmenia, and Transoxiana and Chinese Turkestan. In these the Nestorians had long laboured with success and the Papal missions were encouraged by the patronage of many of the rulers. The golden age of Latin missionary enterprise was the pontificate of John XXII (1316–1334), who was constantly sending missionaries, generally Franciscans and Dominicans, to the remotest parts of the East. Arch-episcopal provinces were founded, each with several suffragans. As early as 1279 the Franciscan preachers had reached China, and in 1308 an archbishop of Pekin was nominated by the Pope with seven suffragans under him, and in 1314 there were no less than fifty Franciscan converts in the country. Friar Ordeni of Pordenone, an indefatigable traveller who visited India, traversed the Indian Ocean, and reached Southern China by sea, testifies to the fact that everywhere Christians were to be found labouring in the mission field.

But this bright prospect was destined soon to be completely overclouded. The Mongol dynasty of China was overthrown in 1368, and with it the hopes of founding a Christian Church. There is a mention of an Archbishop of Pekin in 1456, but it is not known whether he was permitted to reside there. All trace of the church in China seems to have vanished. The closing years of the fourteenth century saw the rise of the famous Timour, or Tamerlane, the conqueror of India. With him the Mongol power became definitely Mohammedan, embracing the creed of Islam in its most persecuting form. The last hope of medieval Christianity in the Far East was dissipated and became scarcely a memory. The noble effort to conquer the East by the preaching of Christ failed, more creditably it is true, but as completely as that of subduing Islam by the sword of the Christian warrior.

It is now necessary to record the appearance of the most terrible foe Christianity had yet encountered in the rise of the Ottoman Turks. With the abandonment of the Holy Land in 1291 things gradually had gone back to the condition before the Crusades. The pilgrimages to Jerusalem were resumed and Franciscan convents were established in connection with various holy places in Palestine. The Hospitallers had seized Rhodes, which nominally belonged to the Greeks, but had become a haunt of pirates. The de Lusignans reigned as kings of Cyprus, maintaining a formidable navy and a sumptuous court. Crusades were projected, the princes of Europe at times solemnly took the Cross, but nothing practical was effected. The empire of the Greeks decayed but as yet Europe was practically intact and entirely Christian. At last, in 1366, the Ottoman Turks gained a footing on the Gallipoli peninsula, and henceforward Crusades ceased to be offensive and became defensive wars. Christianity had in the fifteenth century to fight, not for conquest, but for existence.

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For the First Crusade the contemporary authorities are Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, an anonymous *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitorum;* Raymond of St. Gilles (Migne, *P. L.*, 156), and Fulcher of Chartres. William, Archbishop of Tyre (d. 1199), is the writer who makes Peter the Hermit the originator of the scheme, which none of those who lived at the time have done. The Greek authority is Anna Comnena, *Life of her Father, the Emperor Alexius Comnenus* (Migne, *P. G.*, Vol. 131). The reader is advised to consult the bibliography to Urban II, in Mann's *Lives of the Popes*, Vol. VII, and L. Bréhier, *L'église et l'orient des croisades*. He should of course read Gibbon, Ch. LVIII.

The Feudal Kingdom of Jerusalem and the laws of its Assize are described in Gibbon at the end of Ch. LVIII. I have found L. Bréhier's *op cit.*, Chapter V, on the organization of the Christian States most useful. See his articles on "Crusades" and "Jerusalem" in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*. There are copious bibliographies in Workman's article on "Crusades" in Hastings' *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*. For maps see the works referred to in Chapter IV. For Medieval Jerusalem use Conder, *The City of Jerusalem*.

The conduct of the Germans in the Second Crusade is described by Odo of Deuil, *De Profectione Ludovici*, VII (Migne, *P. L.*, Vol. 135), who reprobates the cruelty and wanton destruction they exhibited at Constantinople. See J. Cotter Morison, *Life and Times of St. Bernard*, Bk. IV. For the Later Crusades there is S. Lane Poole's *Saladin* and E. Pears' *Fall of Constanti-*

nople. Bishop Stubbs edited the original works about Richard I of England's crusade in the *Rolls Series*. G. de Villehardouin and Joinville are contemporary authorities for the Capture of Constantinople and the Crusade of St. Louis IX to Egypt. These are among the oldest books in French prose. Rennell Rodd, *The Princes of Achaia*, should be consulted for the Latin Empire in Byzantium. Bréhier, *op. cit.*, is most interesting on the subject of the plans for a crusade after the fall of Acre. Consult R. Lane Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Medieval Thought*, for Pierre du Bois.

CHAPTER VII

LEARNING AND HERESY IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

The Trivium and Quadrivium — Augustine and Dionysius — Cassiodorus — Monastic schools — St. Anselm — Plato and Aristotle — Nominalism and realism — East and West — Meagreness of the "sciences" — School books — Few books and much thought — Abélard — Anselm of Laon — Abélard a monk — Arnold of Brescia — St. Bernard — Influence of St. Paul on Christian thought — Marcion — Paul of Samosata — The Manichæans — Innovations in the Church — Paulicianism — Anticlericalism — The Bogomili — Heresy in the West — Languedoc — Low condition of the church — The Albigensians — Peter of Brueys — Henry the Deacon — Rapid spread of heresy — Tolerant attitude of the Church — Cistercians sent Languedoc — St. Dominic — Peter of Castelnau murdered — A crusade proclaimed — Albigensian war — Persecution.

The mind of the Middle Ages found its best expression in stone. Whether in the city, the cathedral, or the castle, it is preëminent for the excellence of its work and the variety of its design. No two cathedrals are alike, yet scores are poems in themselves. And it may be truly said that in those days men not only worked but thought in stone. Out of barbarism they built a new civilization with hard and durable material. Their master minds were above all strong, whether Popes like Gregory VII and Innocent III, legalists like the great French and Norman lawyers, rulers like Edward I of England, saints and sinners; all alike laboured with a view to the permanence of their work. Their object was to create a stable religious and political system, an enduring philosophy and legal code, and generally to settle all questions on a firm basis. In this attempt the merits and defects of medievalism are equally apparent.

The educational system was based on the seven liberal arts as enumerated in A.D. 425 by Martianus Capella, an African neo-Platonist, in an allegory on the marriage of Philology and Mercury. The three first—the Trivium—are Grammar, Dialectic, Rhetoric. The remaining, Geometry, Arithmetic, Astronomy, and Harmony, make up the Quadrivium. The author

most used in medieval studies was Anicius Boethius, the minister of Theodoric at Rome and the last of the Latin philosophers, who with Symmachus was for some unknown reason imprisoned and put to death in A.D. 525. During his imprisonment Boethius wrote his *De Consolatione Philosophiæ*, for many generations one of the most widely read of books. He also preserved parts of Aristotle for the Latin world by his translations and comments, and by his commentary on Porphyry's Introduction to the Categories of Aristotle he provided logical material for the endless controversies in the medieval schools. Several theological treatises were also ascribed to him.

The theology was mainly based on Augustine's, but almost equally potent was the influence of Dionysius the Areopagite (Acts XVII, 34), the convert of St. Paul, and the first Bishop of Athens. The writings attributed to him really belong to the fifth century, and are the work of some neo-Platonic Christian philosopher. They deal with the two hierarchies of heaven and earth. God in the Trinity is above all; all, angels as well as men, are united with God through Jesus. Between God and man is the ninefold celestial hierarchy, who raise man to God by the three stages of purification, illumination, and perfection. The *ecclesiastical* hierarchy like the *celestial* is composed of three triads. The three sacraments are Baptism = purification, Communion = enlightening, Chrism (or anointing) = perfection. The next triad are the threefold ministry of Hierarchs, Light Bearers, and Servers. Below these is that of the Monks, the Laity, and Catechumens. The tendency of these writings is mystical, their object being the union with the divine, and they were a powerful stimulus to all medieval imaginings.

Such were some of the most powerful influences on the development of medieval thought in its earlier stages, to which may be added the increasing interest in the law of the Church as evidenced by the many collections of decretals and canons, and the devotional services, especially in the various monastic Breviaries. Despite the prevailing ignorance of Greek in Latin Europe, Greek ideas had much fascination, though access to

them was almost invariably second hand. Neo-platonism had a very important part to play in the development of Western thought. Before considering this subject, it may be well to survey briefly the system of instruction which prevailed before the appearance of what is known as scholasticism.

The honour of first employing Benedictine monks in literary labour probably belongs to Cassiodorus, long the minister of the successive barbarian rulers in Italy in the sixth century, who at the age of seventy retired to Vivarium in the southern extremity of the peninsula, where he lived a monastic life, dying in extreme old age. His literary labours were indefatigable, but a survey of them is enough to show how much of his work, and, indeed, of many of the "fathers" is compilation. His book treats of the art and discipline of the Liberal studies, and on the Trivium and Quadrivium, which were supposed to embrace the whole circuit of human knowledge.

In the seventh and eighth centuries learned monks began to play a considerable part in the life of the time. Monastic schools flourished, notably in Ireland, where the study of Greek, and even Hebrew, was diligently followed. Later the religious houses of England became the homes of learning and produced men of erudition like Bede, Aldhelm, and Alcuin.

The eleventh century witnessed a remarkable revival of learning; and scholars began to attract numerous pupils. One of the earliest was Berengar, whose view of the Eucharist caused so much perturbation. He was the pupil of Fulbert of Chartres, whom he succeeded in Tours at the school of St. Martin in 1029. Later the school of Bec, the monastery founded by the Norman knight Herluin, into which the learned Italian Lanfranc was attracted, began to draw away students even from Berengar; and was destined to become still more famous under Anselm, who succeeded and eclipsed the fame of Lanfranc as a teacher at Bec. Both these eminent men became successively Archbishops of Canterbury. There were also three great teachers, who handed down their principles one to the other, Roscelin of Chartres, William of Champeaux and the celebrated and unfortunate Abélard. All these, orthodox as

well as those suspected or condemned for heresy, were powerful, original, and courageous thinkers.

Anselm, though recognised as a saint and doctor of the Church, was not one of those whose timid orthodoxy is contented with repeating what others have said. He was rather a pioneer of a new philosophy, and even of a new theology. Anselm's faith taught him that the doctrine of the Church was true, and his intellect demanded that it should also be in accordance with reason. Accordingly he set to work to discover the reasonableness of every Christian dogma, and though, as a believer, he felt bound to accept the teaching of the Church, as a trained thinker he felt at liberty to reject any explanation which seemed contrary to reason, and to substitute for it one which, without invalidating the doctrine, made it accord with the judgment of a fair mind. Thus in his famous *Cur Deus Homo* he rejects the venerable explanation that the death of Christ was a ransom paid to the devil, though it was supported by an unbroken chain of patristic testimony, and substitutes for it the more reasonable theory that Christ offered himself as a satisfaction to the claims of divine justice, which demands its due before pardon can be given to mankind. In his opinion every Christian mystery appealed, not only to the faith, but also to the reason of the believer. As archbishop Anselm showed himself a most deferential subject of the Pope; and the courage with which he defied the kings of England on behalf of the claims of the Church, is matched by the resolute stand he made in maintaining the claims of reason in questions of theology.

The intricacy of the problems, which exercised the minds of the thinkers of the eleventh century, proves that, however low Europe may have been in political and material civilization, its condition was not one of intellectual barbarism, nor is the impatience with which the modern man regards the subject of their speculations, or his ready condemnation of them as ignorant and foolish, a proof of the superiority of his intelligence. The period was one in which great restriction of knowledge was combined with much mental activity.

The question at issue was the old difference between the spirit of the teaching of Plato and that of Aristotle. The Platonic theory is that all we perceive by the sense are shadows of *forms* (ideas) which truly exist in the super-sensual world. The *real* world is the unseen, the objects we perceive are but types. In this sense men are regarded not as individuals but as visible indications of the *real* humanity which can only be apprehended by the intellect. The tendency of this *Realism* is mystical: it regards the whole as all important to the neglect of the parts of which it is composed. In other words personality is of little account, and the supreme goal of life is not self-development but the loss of self in God, the Idea of Ideas. The other method led men to argue in the opposite direction, from the known to the unknown, and to regard the *form* or *idea* not as a reality but as a name we apply in generalising from the individual to the conception of the genus to which he belongs. This leads to a higher regard for the parts, of which the whole is made up, to thinking of mankind as consisting of individuals, the salvation of each one of whom is a matter of interest.

From considering *universals* less as *realities* than as *names* applied to general conceptions, this mode of thinking is called *Nominalism* as opposed to *Realism*. Not that this twofold method is confined to Greek or scholastic thought. It applies to all theological and political conceptions, even to the modern socialistic disregard of individual liberty and development in the interests of "humanity," an abstraction in which birth, race, character and countless other factors, play no part. Such then was the problem of philosophy which men in the Middle Ages set themselves with varying fortunes to solve. It will be hereafter shown that so far from being constant, orthodox opinion was at one time in favour of the *realists*, in another of the *nominalists*.

The equipment with which the philosophers of the eleventh century started on their quest was indeed limited. The monastic spirit of the age discouraged the study of the classics, which were read by a few ardent students, not without mis-

givings. And the Western student not only had scanty apparatus, but was held within strict limits by the need for maintaining theological orthodoxy. It is therefore greatly to the credit of the West that, whilst in Constantinople, with all the accumulated literary treasures of antiquity, with its schools and professors, scholarship was tied so firmly to the past as to make progress of thought well-nigh impossible, in the half barbarous Paris at the close of the eleventh century the human intellect was preparing to tackle the gravest problem of philosophy.

It is almost with a shock that one realises how amazingly simple were the "sciences" of the Trivium and Quadrivium, that Geometry meant no more than an elementary and mostly incorrect geography, and that mathematical studies were mainly directed to the seasons of the Church. There is an interesting description of the books used at Reims by the famous Gerbert, afterwards Pope Sylvester II (999–1003), a man whose learning was so vast that he was gravely suspected by subsequent generations of being a magician. He used in his teaching the Isagogues of Porphyry, translated by the rhetorician Victorinus, and he interpreted these *secundum Manlium*, i.e. according to the principles of Boethius. Then there were the Categories of Aristotle, *id est prædicamentorum librum*, *Peri ermenias*—the Topica, which were translated by Tully into Latin, and "expounded by Manlius the consul." For rhetoric or literature Gerbert taught from three poets, Virgil, Statius, and Terence, the satirists, Juvenal, Persius, and Horace, and Lucan the historiographer. Aristotle it may be remarked was only known as a logician, as none of his philosophical works had yet penetrated into Western Europe.

There is in the Library of Caius College, Cambridge, a manuscript containing a list of books which should be part of a wide education. Dr. Haskins of Harvard who has edited it attributes it to the end of the twelfth century; and it is remarkable the stress it lays on classical studies, which at a late date were comparatively neglected for the scholastic philos-

ophy.[1] The scholar is to have a note-book, the master a ferule to strike him on the hand for his minor faults, and a cane to use in extremities. But he is not to have a whip or a "scorpion," or to beat the boy cruelly. When the pupil has learned his alphabet he should read Donatus, the Eclogues of Theodulus, and the moral compendium attributed to Cato. Then he is to go on with Virgil, Horace, Lucan, Ovid, some of whose amatory poetry should be avoided, as also his *Fasti*. Next Statius, Cicero's *De Oratore*, *de Amicitia*, *the Tusculans*, *de Senectute*, etc. He is to read Martial and Petronius (with omissions). The other authors recommended are Solinus, Sidonius, Quintus Curtius, Livy, etc. His grammatical text books should be Donatus and Priscian and he should study prosody. If he wishes to pursue the liberal arts he must read Boethius, the *Isagogues* of Porphyry, and the *Categories* of Aristotle, also his *Metaphysics*, and the *De Interpretatione* of Apuleius. The other subjects treated of are astronomy, medicine, church and canon law.

The last paragraph of the MS is specially interesting as revealing how the scriptures were regarded. The Old as well as the New Testament must be studied. First the Pentateuch or rather the Heptateuch, which also includes Joshua and Judges. Then the pupil should *hear* Ruth, Kings, and Chronicles, and also Ezra, Nehemiah, Tobit, Judith, and Esther. Happy is he if he meets with Ethe (?Ezekiel), Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel and the Twelve Prophets. Let him feed the godly meditations of his mind on Job. Let him approach Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Songs. Useful for hearing is Wisdom, which is ascribed to Philo, and Ecclesiasticus, composed by Jesus the son of Sirach, as is also the book of Maccabees. No words can express how profitable are the Psalms. The New Testament contains the Gospels, the Epistles of Paul, the Canonical Epistles, Acts, and Revelation.

Rightly to understand the mind of Western Europe in the twelfth century one must grasp the fact that its very meagre learning, confined to a few books in a single language, was

[1] Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, vol. xx, 1909.

enjoyed by some of the ablest men who have appeared in history. It was an age of great statesmen, architects, saints and thinkers, whose work has endured to this day. In it men boldly tackled some of the most difficult problems of philosophy. Perhaps they were aided by their very disadvantages. A profound mind if it has few books to feed upon gains strength by concentration. In an age of active intelligence men who learn little, think much. The human mind was awakening after a long sleep but full of renewed strength, and the ignorant Western Church produced far greater men than the learned scholars of Byzantium.

Nothing, however, is so illustrative of the learning of the Middle Ages than the career of Abélard, the most original and courageous thinker of the twelfth century: Abélard may truly be called the knight errant of learning of his age. To him every famous scholar was a rival, whom he burned to contend and vanquish. The son of a Breton noble, he left his patrimony to his brothers, and wandered forth in search of adventures in the schools. He assumed, like Voltaire, a name which was not his own, and made it immortal. Born in 1079 and dying in 1142 his career was not the uneventful life of a cloistered scholar, but one of constant excitement; he enjoyed prosperity and popularity, but also had to bear great reverses. No scholar of his age could stand before him nor did he ever succumb till he encountered a saint in the person of Bernard.

Abélard was perhaps originally a pupil of Rocelin, the chief nominalist of his time, but when about twenty years of age, he appeared at the episcopal school of Notre Dame at Paris, nominally as a pupil of William of Champeaux, Archdeacon and Master of the Cathedral School. William was the champion of the then orthodox Realism, and the most famous dialectician in Europe. But he was no match for his young disciple. Abélard's questions exposed his inferiority to the whole class and after a long and bitter strife William's school was emptied and his pupils flocked to the new teacher. Thoroughly humbled as a scholar, William received the reward of his orthodoxy in the bishopric of Chalons, where he could

practice piety under the guidance of Bernard, and enunciate his opinions without fear of profane interruption.

Having humbled his rival in dialectic, and thereby made himself enemies without number, Abélard next turned to the theologians. Anselm of Laon was the most admired expositor of Scripture of his time. Gifted with learning and an amazing memory, he was a typical professor, in so far that he was able to tell his pupils all that others had said. Abélard came, heard, and scoffed. His companions in jest suggested that he should give a better lecture. He accepted their challenge and invited them to choose a subject. They offered Ezekiel, one of the obscurest books in the Old Testament. Abélard presented himself in the lecture room the next morning. A few came to laugh at his failure. They retired amazed at his learning, and day by day his scholars multiplied, leaving their old master to speak to empty benches. Abélard returned to Paris, and there took the chair vacated by William of Champeaux. He was now the most famous teacher in the world, and even the rumour that he was heretical could not deter men from crowding to hear him. His pupils numbered five, or, perhaps, seven thousand. Rich, handsome and popular he had now reached the apex of his prosperity.

Then followed his intrigue with the noble Heloïse,[1] his marriage and the cruel mutilation at the hands of ruffians hired by her uncle Fulbert. In his disgrace and misery Abélard became a monk of St. Denys in Paris, where he was subjected to endless petty persecutions at the hands of his superiors. But he still had powerful friends and devoted admirers.

Although the monastic spirit dominated Western Europe, there were two parties, one of which may be called "humanist" and the other "rigorist." Abélard since his misfortune had honestly embraced the monastic life, and his epistles to Heloïse in reply to her ardent letters are in accord with the ascetic spirit of the age. But in the cloister he was more able to bring his body than his intellect into subjection, and men

[1] Abélard was not a priest and probably not even in major orders. The turpitude of his conduct has been unduly emphasised.

with human sympathies rallied to him. Suger, Abbot of St. Denys, one of the first of the great ecclesiastical statesmen who made modern France, was his friend, so for a time was Pope Innocent II, and the saintly Abbot of Cluny. Peter the Venerable was full of admiration for Heloïse, and of friendship for Abélard. But the rigorists, who numbered saints in their ranks, scented danger in the teaching of Abélard, especially in his *Sic et Non*, in which he places in opposite columns the divergent opinions of the fathers of the Church. At their head was Bernard of Clairvaux, the great Cistercian ascetic and mystic, who exerted unbounded authority over successive popes and virtually dominated the Church of his time. Abélard's books were burnt at Soissons in 1121 and twenty years later he was brought before a council at Sens. His condemnation was virtually a foregone conclusion and he was hardly given a hearing. His appeal to Rome was contemptuously dismissed. He retired to Cluny where he was placed in the charge of Peter the Venerable, and treated with much tender consideration till his death in 1142. His nominalism was orthodoxy in the next century, but had he then been condemned, he would probably have been burned. This fate befell his pupil, Arnold of Brescia, a man of sterner stuff than the cultured Abélard.

Abélard, though his orthodoxy was suspected by the Bernards of his day, did nothing to subvert the existing order. His teaching may have appeared dangerous, his philosophy unspiritual, and he indulged in freaks of ill-timed erudition, as when he offended his colleagues in the monastery of St. Denys, by saying that their patron was not the author, known as Dionysius the Areopagite. As a monk, however, he made himself unpopular by trying to reduce the monastery of St. Gildas in Brittany, of which he was Abbot, to some condition of discipline and order. He was nevertheless allowed to end his days in peace. Not so his more turbulent pupil Arnold.

Arnold was a Lombard, a native of Brescia, which, like other north Italian cities in the twelfth century, was full of the spirit of civic patriotism. He was a monk with a reputation for austerity, which even his adversaries could not deny.

He had crossed the Alps to study under Abélard, and returned to take part in the distracted politics of Brescia. As a monk, vowed to poverty, Arnold was justified in denouncing the wealth and luxury of the clergy of his age; and, had he done no more, not even St. Bernard could have blamed him; but he desired to reform the entire fabric of society on a democratic basis. In 1139 he appeared before Innocent II's Council of the Lateran, charged by the Bishop of Brescia, not with heresy, but with schism of the most serious kind. The assembled prelates condemned him to banishment; and he repaired, first to Zurich, and finally to those Alpine valleys, where opinions akin to those of the Waldenses, who afterwards looked up to him as one of their founders, were held. Like Abélard, Arnold found friends among men of spotless orthodoxy, and one of his patrons was pope, though for but five months (1143–1144), as Celestine II. In the pontificate of Eugenius III (1145–1153) Arnold appeared in Rome, then the scene of civil disturbances, owing to the determined efforts of the inhabitants to set up a republic in the face of the Pope and the aristocracy. He was excommunicated by Eugenius III, who had been a Cistercian monk, and was a devout disciple of St. Bernard. Though previously unversed in public affairs Eugenius, as Pope, showed much tact in dealing with the republic and its opposition to the temporal power of the Papacy. Arnold, though not the nominal head, was a moving spirit in the attempt to place Church and Empire under the people. His eloquence, charm of manner, and austerity of life won him many admirers, but in the end he succumbed to the weight of constituted authority. Hadrian IV, a stern practical Englishman, succeeded Eugenius III, and dealt firmly with the republicans. For the first time the Holy City was smitten by a papal interdict. This reduced the contumacious citizens to submission, and Arnold escaped. The Emperor, Frederic Barbarossa, and the Pope were for once in agreement that Arnold must be suppressed. He was arrested, sent to Rome, and put to death in 1155.

The great opponent alike of Abélard and Arnold was St. Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, the Peter Damian of another

age. Agreeing with his adversaries on the subject of monastic austerity, and on the need for the reform of the secularly-minded clergy and religious of his age, he was a firm upholder of the papal authority, swift to detect the smallest symptom of independence. He at once recognised the dangers which might arise if Abélard were allowed freedom of thought, and Arnold of action, and set himself to oppose the tendencies of his age. Nor were the gloomy forebodings of the saint wholly without justification.

It is impossible to support the claim that the Middle Ages were ages of faith untroubled by doubts or heresy. On the contrary the persistence and variety of unorthodox opinions were very marked, especially in the twelfth century.

It is frequently asserted that S. Paul, if he did not create the Christian religion, at any rate called Gentile Christianity into being. But a careful estimate of the effect of the Pauline writings on the development of the Early Church inspires caution in accepting such a hasty generalization. It is true that his writings were honoured as those of *the* Apostle and universally accepted, and that some of his positive commands were faithfully fulfilled. But it can safely be asserted that the theology of Paul was not always that of the Early Church: and that his doctrine of the resurrection of the body is not the Church's view of the resurrection of the flesh. The points on which the Pauline teaching lays most emphasis, those of justification by faith, election by God's grace, the redemptive power of the Cross, were not of primary interest in primitive Christian circles. Nor is there any reason to believe that the Gentile churches were called into being solely by Pauline influence; and the importance attached to the work of St. Peter, if based mainly on tradition, cannot be entirely without foundation. Indeed it would be no easy task to discover in the first two centuries an entirely Pauline Church, or, for that matter, a piece of orthodox Pauline literature outside the Canon of the New Testament.[1]

[1] Much as I admire, I cannot agree with Dr. Ingé's estimate of the Apostle in his *Outspoken Essays.*

The influence of St. Paul was in fact more personal than universal, and he affected the mass less than the individual. Popular legends concerning him were few. His cultus was not widely prevalent; but men, who thought for themselves, when they read the New Testament, turned to him. One of the most original thinkers of the second century was Marcion of Sinope, who thought that he recognised in the apostle's anti-Judaism real Christianity, as well as a revelation of God as he truly was, an embodiment of the love of the Gospel, rather than of the justice, proclaimed in the Law. Marcion's interpretation of Paul was remarkably attractive, and he became the founder of the most formidable of the Gnostic sects, the more dreaded by the orthodox, because his system was not paganism thinly disguised under a Christian phraseology, but professed to be thoroughgoing Christianity with moral demands even more stringent than those of the Church. The Marcionists, moreover, were not a cultured sect content to propagate their opinions; but a church, with buildings, a priesthood, and even martyrs, of their own. The organization continued at least as late as the seventh century and its principles outlasted the Marcionite body to reappear constantly in various forms. Marcion was in one sense a Gnostic, notably for his docetism which denied the reality of the human Christ; but in another a rigid puritan, and follower of Paul.

But in the following century there arose another Paul whose influence as a heretic almost equalled that of the Apostle as a teacher of truth. Paul of Samosata, Bishop of Antioch (c. 260), affirmed the doctrine, destined to become so dangerous to Western orthodoxy, that Jesus instead of being God who became Man, was a man who became God. This view was in accord with the pagan method of considering that the benefactors of humanity could be deified, yet it also squared with the Christian idea that we can through Christ become one with God. Centuries after Paul's doctrine had been condemned by the Catholic Church and he had been deprived of his bishopric, Adoptianism had to be repudiated by the Church of the West.

Marcion and Paul of Samosata considered themselves Christians, but another religion appeared in the third century, with the important consequence of a revolt from the Church in later years, in that of Mani, with its dualism, its secret mysteries, its grades of initiates, culminating in the "perfect" adepts. This strange combination of Persian and Christian beliefs inspired terror and provoked persecution, and at the same time proved irresistibly attractive. Even Augustine was for a time spellbound by its fascination.

Amid the furious controversies which divided the Christians of the East among Catholics, and Arians, and Monophysites of every conceivable variety, strange opinions were cherished in secret, the Church being kept in the path of orthodoxy, less by persecution than by the wise toleration, or actual encouragement of certain innovations. The cult of the Blessed Virgin and of the Saints, the passionate reverence for relics, the worship of holy pictures and crosses satisfied the desire of many for the indulgence of superstition and of a passion for the marvellous. A sensuous religion was thus supplanting the more spiritual Christianity of antiquity. And at this very time Mohammedanism was making a startling appeal to the affrighted East by its severe simplicity as a religion, and the marvellous success of the arms by which it was supported and propagated.

The older heresies revived and flourished in the south-eastern corner of Asia Minor on the Saracen frontier in the form of Paulicianism. The sect arose in the neighbourhood of Samosata, the home of the famous Paul, Bishop of Antioch. Their enemies declared that they took their designation from him; but it seems more probable that they assumed the name in honour of Paul the Apostle, whose tenets they professed to hold. Indeed their leaders often took Pauline names, Timothy, Titus, Epaphroditus, etc., as special disciples of their master. They eventually became so strong that the sect had to be suppressed by force.

The Paulicians were heretics on certain points for they held adoptionist views in regard to our Lord's person, main-

tained that he was created and not creator, and rejected the Catholic doctrine of the Logos. Thus far they held the views promulgated by Paulus of Samosata, though they maintained that this was the real teaching of Paul the Apostle. They went counter to the deepest religious feeling of their age by denying that the Blessed Virgin was ever-virgin, and they refused her the title of Theotokos (she who bore God). Apparently they gave the Eucharist a mystical interpretation, refused to venerate the Cross—regarding it as an accursed symbol—denied infant baptism and indeed declared "we are in no haste to be baptized, for baptism means death." They were strongly prejudiced against the clergy, but some of them counselled their followers to conform to Catholic usages. They also held strongly dualistic doctrines and some maintained that it was not God whom Moses saw but the devil. It is extremely difficult to decide whether these Paulicians were a sort of early Protestants, objecting to the growing hierarchical pretensions of the Church, or decided heretics. This affects all the enquiry into these puritans (*cathari*) of the Middle Ages, it being the object of their opponents to show that, under the innocent appearance of a pretended desire for purity of worship, was concealed indulgence in all the worst forms of ancient heresy, in the errors of Marcion, of Paul of Samosata, and above all in the dreaded dualism of the arch-heretic Mani.

Something closely resembling Paulicianism appeared in Bulgaria in the sect of the Bogomili (friends of God) who were supposed to derive their origin from a certain eponymous founder Bogomil in the tenth century. This Slavic sect had many of the characteristics which make people of that race such formidable fanatics. Their opinions were introduced into Southern France and the terror their heresy inspired is seen in the fact that "*Bougre*" or "Bulgarian" became the vilest conceivable term of abuse, and that the Albigensian heretics were thus branded.

The first great Western heresy appeared in Spain under the name of its leader Priscillian in the days of the Emperor

Gratian (375–380). He was at first acquitted, but was put to death by the usurping Emperor Maximus to the horror of St. Martin, Bishop of Tours. What Priscillian's actual heresy was is not certain; he was accused by Spanish bishops, against whom the charge of gluttony was brought, of excessive asceticism of a Manichæan type. Some of his writings were preserved, and, as was customary, attributed to orthodox fathers; nor do these show many traces of heresy. But throughout the correspondence of Pope Leo I, there are warnings to the Spaniards to be on their guard against Priscillianism. Later, in the eighth century, Elipandus, Bishop of Toledo, was found guilty of Adoptianism and the great Synod of Frankfort (794) condemned this heresy. It is to be noticed that these heresies of an Eastern character made their way into Western Europe through Spain, which, though furthest from the East, was always extremely susceptible to its influence.

The Pelagian dispute about free will, which constantly exercised the Western Church, and those concerning the Presence in the Eucharist may be here passed over, as the really burning question at this period was the heresy of an oriental type which probably combined old Gnostic ideas with a puritan severity (*Catharism*), a dislike of pomp and externals in worship, and a bitter hostility to the clergy and to the Church as a divine institution. Such was the teaching which grew up and flourished in Southern Gaul, almost overthrew the power of the hierarchy, and provoked terrible reprisals.

Feudal France in the early part of the thirteenth century extended in the south only to the Rhone, and did not include Provence. Marseilles, Arles, Lyons and Vienne lay within the frontiers of the Empire, and the southern coast of France extended only from the western mouth of the Rhone to the frontier of Spain. But the comparatively small district between the Mediterranean and the Garonne was one of the richest in Europe. Nominally attached to the French crown, it was in no sense French, being inhabited by a people who regarded northern France as a foreign land, spoke a different language, and had customs and institutions more akin to those of the

ancient Empire of Rome than to those of feudal Europe. It is represented as gay and pleasant land, with a luxurious nobility, devoted to music and poetry, and thriving cities, attracting the commerce of the world, in place of the gloomy baronial fortresses and monasteries of the stern north. Naturally its people were in close touch with the superior civilization of Mohammedan Spain; and as there, the Jews were tolerated and even respected. It is not too much to say that in the twelfth century southern France was the scene of a premature renascence. The ruler, almost a sovereign, of this district was Raymond VI, Count of Toulouse. Under him were his five great feudatories: (1) the Viscount of Narbonne; (2) the Viscount of Béziers; (3) the Count of Foix; (4) the Countship of Montpellier belonging to Pedro, King of Arragon; and (5) the Countships of Quercy and Rhodez. Raymond VI was not the man to cope with a crisis of exceptional difficulty, nor were the people of a prosperous and civilized province a match for what must have appeared to them a savage irruption of northern barbarians, only too ready if an excuse should offer to attack a rich land, with exposed frontiers and unwarlike inhabitants.

Nowhere was the Church in worse odour than in Languedoc. There it was despised by the nobility, many of whom are said to have declared that they would rather see a son of theirs a Jew than a priest. Among the people it was detested; and their religious instincts led them to embrace views akin, partly to the ancient Paulician heresy, and partly to a premature Protestantism. To monastic severity they opposed an enthusiasm for their opinions, as ardent as that of St. Bernard and his Cistercians. Martyrdom was desired and sought as eagerly as in the days of the primitive Church. The heresy prevalent in this age was twofold. The followers of Peter Waldo and the Poor Men of Lyons were orthodox in belief, save as regards the power of the priesthood, the doctrine of the Mass, and the rejection of all sacraments save the two instituted by Christ himself. Waldo, before he promulgated his extreme opinions, even sought permission to preach from

Pope Alexander III. The simplicity of life practised by him and his followers rivalled and surpassed that of the monks. No one aspersed his moral character, or accused him of laxity in his teaching. The sect was bitterly anti-hierarchical and as such sufficient to incur the hostility of a powerful clergy.

But other teachers were distinctly heretical, if not anti-Christian, in their doctrine. The *Cathari*, or Albigensians, as they were called from their chief centre, Albi, were accused of opinions dangerous to the Faith, which may be summarised thus: Satan and his angels were cast out of heaven and given material bodies as a punishment. Satan is the Lord of this world, and the author of the harsher parts of the Old Testament. There is no purgatory or hell but in this world, where we are at home in the body and "absent from the Lord" (Phil. 1:23). There is no resurrection, because flesh cannot inherit the higher kingdom. This can only be done by the complete surrender of the lower nature. As Christ, our example, received the Spirit, so must every "good man" become a vehicle for the Paraclete. Water immersion is nothing, the only baptism being that of the Spirit. *Believers* were the lower grade of this church. The highest were the *perfect* who had received the *consolamentum*, a sort of ordination open alike to men and women. This was often deferred to the time of death; but, if a man or woman received it earlier, the most rigid asceticism and chastity were indispensable; and the perfect one was regarded almost as an incarnation of Christ. The extravagances of these "good men," as they called themselves, have in later times been manifested among the Russian sects, and they were specially directed to the discouragement of the propagation of the human race. Probably the multitude regarded the Cathari with respect because of their extreme asceticism, and were ignorant of the dualistic Gnosticism actually embodied in their teaching. They did, however, occasionally arouse the fury of the people, and suffered death at the hands of indignant mobs.

In the time of St. Bernard two teachers forced themselves into prominence, Peter of Brueys, and Henry the Deacon.

Peter is known from the Confutation of his doctrine by Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny. He was more like the Iconoclasts of the eighth century than a Manichæan. He is accused of denying infant baptism, paying no honour to the cross, refusing to allow prayers for the dead, compelling the clergy to marry even by torture, neglecting the fasts of the church, etc. His followers were known as Petrobrusians; and their leader was burned at St. Gilles in Languedoc, by the mob infuriated by his heretical doctrines. Henry the Deacon's career shows how active preachers of his type were. He is found in Lausanne, at Le Mans, in Gascony, and in Toulouse. He was loud in his denunciations of the clergy. Gifted with extraordinary eloquence, he attracted even the priests whose sins he condemned. At Le Mans he produced a great sensation among the people, especially the more abandoned portion of the female sex. These repented, threw their jewels and costly garments into the flames; and by Henry's influence were married as penitents to youths of good position, who, like their brides, assumed the coarsest of garments. Hildebert, Bishop of Le Mans, was almost abandoned by his flock when he returned from an absence, because of Henry's preaching, but he dismissed the hierarch with pitying contempt. At Toulouse Henry met with equal success. In vain did Eugenius III send the Cardinal Bishop of Ostia to refute him. The Cardinal in despair had to summon St. Bernard, whose preaching is said to have restored the city to peace and orthodoxy.

But the evil in Languedoc was too deep-seated to be subdued even by the preaching of such a saint as Bernard and within fifty years of his death the whole country was notoriously full of heretics; and the influence of the Church seemed hopelessly lost. The contagion was moreover spreading both in France and Flanders and only by drastic means could its progress be stayed. What was done opens a new and terrible chapter in the history of Christianity.

No student of this period can fail to be impressed by the fact that hitherto the history of the Church had been marked by a toleration, truly remarkable when the deep and almost

fanatical temper of the time is taken into account. Hildebrand, Peter Damiani, William the Conqueror, Bernard may have been stern; but not one of them can be charged with the judicial murder of men because of their religious opinions. Berengar was often forced to recant, but never threatened with death; Abélard's story is pathetic; but his "Calamities" might have befallen an Oxford latitudinarian of our day, though he might not have found an orthodox friend as loyal as Peter the Venerable. Arnold of Brescia, it was true, was burned or hanged, but for offences which were certainly political, and churchmen were to be found deeply regretting that he had not been punished by exile and imprisonment. Heretics were undoubtedly put to death in various parts of Europe in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, sometimes by the civil power, more frequently by riotous mobs; but as a rule the bishops tried to rescue those condemned for heresy from the peril of death. St. Augustine's unfortunate remark about compelling the Donatists to come into the Church was quoted in support of proceedings, which were unheard of till he had been dead for more than seven centuries. The Church could not be called tolerant during that period; but, despite the treatment of certain individuals, the clergy could not as a rule be described as bloodthirsty.

The able and devoted Innocent III determined to cope with the evil in heretical Languedoc. No sooner had he become Pope than he sent two Cistercians as Legates to enforce a vigorous suppression of heresy and to address themselves to the temporal nobles in order that they might extirpate the Waldenses, Cathari, and Patarines,[1] authorising them to seize their property and to put them to death. But even the nobility, and especially their ladies, were not free from heresy, and the next step was to appoint two inquisitors, Peter, the Cistercian Abbot of Castelnau, and another, with authority to assume all the powers hitherto vested in the bishops. The inquisitors proceeded vigorously and deposed and suspended bishops who

[1] The Patarines were the Cathari of Northern Italy. They are mentioned in Chapter V.

showed any tendency to leniency. A third inquisitor was appointed, Arnold, the Abbot of Citeaux, the head of the whole Cistercian order. A bishop of Toulouse was next chosen who would certainly not spare heresy, in the person of Fulk, once a gay troubadour, who had retired to the cloister and emerged as a man possessed by a spirit of the most unscrupulous bigotry.

For eight years Peter of Castelnau and his associates preached, on the whole ineffectively, against the heretics; and were joined by the Bishop of Osma and his friend, the future Saint Dominic. Disgusted at the pomp with which the Abbot and his colleagues were journeying through the land, the Spaniards declared that this was no way to convert heretics whose false humility must be met by true humility, and exhorted the papal envoys to go without purse and scrip like the Apostles. They dismissed their own horses and attendants, and clothed as simple monks headed the mission, the legates following their example. But even this had little effect. The heretics still held their meetings, and the Count of Toulouse and his colleagues remained indifferent. At last in 1207 Peter of Castelnau excommunicated Count Raymond and laid the land under an interdict. In a violent letter Innocent confirmed this sentence.

The excommunication of the Count of Toulouse was followed by the murder of Peter of Castelnau in January, 1208, for which, despite all evidence to the contrary, the Count was held to be responsible. Innocent now summoned the King of France to join a crusade against the land guilty of heresy and murder. Philip Augustus, powerful and ambitious as he was, was not thought to be likely to refuse to support the cause of the Church when it squared with his own ambition to make himself really, and not merely in name, master of Southern France. Philip, however, was too politic to engage in the enterprise. Nevertheless a vast host joined in the new Crusade under the leadership of Simon de Montfort, whose son made so great a name in English history. This Simon combined in himself the fanaticism of a champion of the Christian faith

with the rapacity of a feudal baron. He had joined in the Fourth Crusade; but had indignantly refused to be a party to the Venetian scheme of paying its expenses by besieging the Christian city of Zara. Thus far he had shown himself a man of integrity; but from his conduct in the war in Languedoc his fanaticism seems to have dulled his earlier scruples, though he at times displayed during the campaign the virtues of a Christian knight.

Into the details of this frightful war it is not necessary to enter. A vast army of crusaders assembled. Béziers was the first city to fall and it is said that the war cry of the crusaders was, "Slay them all, God will know his own." [1] Whether this was actually said is immaterial, indiscriminate massacre was the spirit of the whole war; but in the end the crusading zeal even of Simon de Montfort was lost in his determination to carve out a kingdom for himself. Count Raymond was alternately excommunicated and restored after performing humiliating penances, but always despoiled more and more of his hereditary dominions. Innocent III, naturally a just man, was powerless to check the rapacity of the victorious nobles of Northern France. Like the Fourth Crusade and the capture of Constantinople, the Albigensian war was a horrible crime perpetrated in the name of religion; and piety was once more a pretext for plunder.

But the danger through which the Church had passed was not forgotten, and ushered in an era of dogma enforced by relentless persecution. The thirteenth century, for all its achievements, marks the beginning of the decay of the medieval system. The fourth Council of the Lateran in 1215 crystallised the doctrine of the Western Church. The council met on St. Martin's day, November 11th, and Innocent after preaching from the words, "With desire have I desired to eat this passover with

[1] These atrocious words are attributed to Arnold, the papal legate. The Catholic Encyclopedia quotes Tamizey de Larroque, *Revue des Quests Historiques*, 1866, I, 168–191, and says they were never pronounced by him. They are not quoted by the authorities on the spot. The authority for them is Cæsarius of Heisterbach, V. 2, who apparently thinks they did Arnold credit. Arnold in his letter to Innocent III says terms were offered to the inhabitants before the attack on Béziers was made.

you," caused seventy canons prepared by himself to be read, which were accepted by the assembled prelates. The council lasted only till the end of the month.

The first canon embodied a declaration of faith. The opening clause contains the doctrine of the Trinity and adds that all things were created by God—even the demons, who were created good, fell into sin, and led man astray.

The next part is an exposition of the Catholic faith in the Incarnation, in the Resurrection and Ascension of our Lord's Body and Spirit, in His second coming as Judge when all will rise in their own bodies to inherit eternal punishment or eternal salvation.

Thirdly it is affirmed that there is but one universal Church outside which no one can be saved. In it Christ is the Priest and the Victim. His Body and Blood are truly in the sacrament of the altar under the species of bread and wine. These are *transubstantiated* by divine power in order that we may partake of His Body, as He partook of our body. Only a priest can consecrate this sacrament, according to the power of the keys. Baptism must be in the name of the Trinity, and is valid if the invocation is right, whoever the minister may be. Those who receive it obtain salvation; if they fall into sin, they may recover their innocence by true penitence. Not only virgins who live lives of continence deserve salvation, but also married persons if they please God by a pure faith and by good works.

A casual perusal of this canon would except for the use of the expression *transubstantiation* reveal nothing more than a declaration of the faith of the Church, and even in the first dogmatic employment of a word, which subsequently became as much a matter of controversy as the famous *homoousios* of the first General Council, only gave expression to the doctrine generally accepted in the Christian Church. Yet underlying the whole confession of faith it is possible to recognise a denial of the main heresies of the Albigensians.

1. The demons as well as the angels are God's creation is an explicit denial of dualism.

2. The insistence on the corporal ascension refutes the Gnostic view of matter, on which the heretics dwelt so persistently.

3. The affirmation that the power of consecrating the bread and wine in the Sacrament is inherent in the Catholic priesthood alone, precludes the use of the words of consecration being efficacious, by whomsoever they are uttered, unlike the baptismal formula which is valid if pronounced by ordinary persons.

4. The insistence on the regenerating power of repentance condemns any revival of the ancient view that baptism (usually given to adults) was the only way of obtaining pardon.

5. The declaration that married persons were saved is against the Marcionite and *Catharist* doctrine condemning all profession of Christianity which did not include the practice of absolute continence.

The twenty-first Canon, making confession to a priest compulsory, is so important as to demand treatment in another chapter; for this was the greatest weapon devised against heresy.

One word of caution, however, is needed in conclusion. The spirit of the age can never be understood if it is thought that either the philosophic or social theories, or the heresies described here, represent the Christianity usually accepted. The average man, whether priest or layman, was untroubled by dogma, and his religion was generally a mixture of genuine piety and some of the crudest superstitions of primitive society, of which the story of the Albigensian crusade is witness.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE MEDIEVAL CHURCH AS A DISCIPLINARY INSTITUTION

Penance in early church — Supposed effect of baptism — Unpardonable sins — Callistus — All sins pardoned — Grades of penitents — Excommunication — Publicity a cause of scandal — Severity of penance — General repentance — The Penitentials — Auricular confession — The Lateran decree — Evolution of the system — Church jurisdiction — Canon Law, civil and criminal — Difficulty of enforcing canonical penalties — Horror of heresy — The order of preachers — Bishops responsible for extirpating heresy — The Papal inquisition — Procedure — Inquisition not intentionally cruel — Popular fear of heresy — Severity — Auto-da-fes — Relapsed heretics — Jews exempt from inquisition — Deaths for heresy not numerous — Surprising examples of mercy.

In order rightly to understand the coercive powers claimed and exercised by the Church it is necessary briefly to recapitulate the facts concerning its penitential discipline from the earliest times.

There is much plausibility in the theory that the ideas first connected with baptism were influenced by the mystery religions of the age, namely, that the rite effected a complete change of nature in the recipient. The mortal sinner emerged from the water an immortal saint, possessed by a new spirit or principle of life. He had died and been buried with Christ, and he rose again with his Lord in the life-giving rite which he had instituted. In view of the immediate coming of the Saviour at the end of the world this seemed a perfectly credible effect of the sacrament; and, in theory, all baptized Christians were saved and all were sinless. Such, indeed was one aspect of the teaching of St. Paul, St. Peter and St. John in the New Testament. But these apostles were not mere theorists, but men daily in touch with practical life, and they soon recognised that the baptized Christian was liable to relapse into the sins which had beset him in his unregenerate condition. To remedy this they modified their views. Paul by subjecting the offender, for his own good, to spiritual punishment and

the pressure of public opinion,[1] and John by distinguishing between those sins into which the best of men may fall, and more heinous offences which make them unfit for the society of Christians. These in the first Epistle are termed sins "not unto death," and sins "unto death."[2] At the same time there was a feeling of horror that a baptized man should fall into gross sin, and the very fact of his having done so indicated that he was rejected by God, and that he could not be "renewed unto repentance."[3] From the first the three sins which made restoration hopeless were considered to be apostasy into heathenism, homicide, and fornication. By these the grace of baptism was annihilated. Such then was the discipline of primitive Christianity. At baptism the candidate understood that if he was guilty of any of these crimes, he was like the soldier who deserted to the enemy, only the death to which he was condemned was spiritual and not temporal. But a more merciful spirit was gradually being manifested. In the second century Hermas, a baptized Christian famous for his continence, felt that all was not well with him, and especially with his family. In a vision a special revelation was vouchsafed to him and he was informed by an angel that the grace of baptism could be renewed by one and only one repentance, a second penance was no more possible than a second baptism.[4] Even one chance after baptism was an exceptional privilege and for more than a generation this was deemed as an excessive indulgence by the severer members of the Church. Whether this penance could free one guilty of the three greater sins is not expressly stated.

Early in the third century the Church of Rome was presided over by Callistus who, whatever may have been his faults, was one of the ablest and most farsighted of the early popes. Greatly to the indignation of the rigorists of his age, represented by Tertullian and Hippolytus, he recognised that

[1] I Cor. v. 1–9; see also II Cor. ii. 5–10; but whether the same offender is referred to is an open question.

[2] I John v. 16–17. [3] Heb. vi. 4–6.

[4] Shepherd of Hermas, iv. 3.

the sins of the flesh, even if committed after baptism, could be sincerely repented of, and he issued an "edict" proclaiming that adulterers and fornicators might be allowed the benefit of one regeneration by penance.[1] Still, however, the apostate remained forever excluded from the pale of the Church, possibly on account of the offence, being rare, possibly also to the fact that many who denied the faith had no desire for readmission to the community,[2] and it was not till the Decian persecution in A.D. 250 that these cases demanded serious consideration. Owing to the influence of the confessors and martyrs, Cyprian of Carthage and Cornelius of Rome gave them the chance of the one penance and established the rule that no sin, however heinous, was beyond the power of loosing committed by the Lord to his Apostles. One result of this leniency was the serious and persistent schism of Novatian, who absolutely denied the right of the Church to readmit to communion those who proved faithless to their Lord in times of trial.

Before the Peace of the Church therefore penance was regarded as a surprisingly benevolent concession to human frailty in giving a second chance to baptized persons who had defiled the white robe by grave sin.

By the middle of the third century a definite penitential discipline seems to have been evolved and is found in the writings of Gregory Thaumaturgus, the successful missionary bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia. By this time the Christians had church buildings of their own which enabled them to give a dramatic significance to their penitential ceremonial.

The great Christian service was the Eucharistic offering; and this was divided already into two parts, (1) the public prayers, and (2) instruction and the consecration and participation of the Elements. The one public, the other confined to baptized persons in full communion with the Church. A grave sinner was utterly thrust out of the assembly and might not enter the sacred edifice. He had to remain in the open air and with

[1] Tertullian, *De Pudicitia*, Introd.

[2] Pliny in his letter to Trajan (x. 96) says that some of those he had examined had left the Church years before.

tears and groans beseech the faithful to intercede for him to God, and the bishop that he might once more cross the threshold of the church. It was only by gradual stages that the penitent won the full communion which was implied in the participation in the Eucharist. Sometimes it took years before he was even admitted to the *narthex* or porch where he stood and heard the preliminary service. The next stage found him within the nave prostrate on the ground whilst the congregation stood joining in the prayers. He was then promoted to the condition of a "bystander" and was allowed to remain after the catechumens and other penitents had left the church, but was not allowed to partake of the holy mysteries. Finally he became a full member of the Church and communicated with the faithful.

This elaborately graded system of penance was peculiar to the East, but wherever public acts of contrition were performed there was exclusion from the ranks of the faithful and the contrite sinner was expected to show his sorrow by supplication for pardon, by wearing sordid garments and fasting and prayer. His very penalty was regarded as a privilege by which he was restored to those blessings which he had justly forfeited. The minister of penance was generally the bishop, though later, especially in Rome and Constantinople, a priest was appointed to look after the candidates for absolution. But the sentence by which the sinner was excluded from the Church was pronounced by the bishop, who remitted the penalty by the imposition of his hands.

Such a system as that of ancient penitential discipline presupposed that the sins thus atoned for were notorious and scandalous, and that the ecclesiastical authorities, especially the bishops, were in charge of comparatively small communities. There were, however, other factors which appear to have attracted little attention before they forced themselves into notice.

Of the three great crimes, Apostacy was a public act. Murder was naturally not frequent and generally notorious and sins of impurity alone could be possibly concealed. But these,

perhaps more than any other, troubled an awakened conscience. Nor was the Eucharist ever regarded by the sinner as a remedy, but rather as a participation with Christ, fraught with great danger to those who approached the Sacred Mysteries unworthily. Many sinners felt themselves *ipso facto* excommunicated and dare not return to communion till they had cleansed themselves from guilt. These made confession to a priest—a special official was appointed in the Church of Constantinople—and voluntarily entered the ranks of the penitent, submitting to the severe penalties imposed by the Church in order to win the coveted purification of the one penance. But this was often the cause of scandal, as the presence of a contrite person in the ranks of penitents caused not little surmise as to the nature of his sin; and at Constantinople, owing to a lady's confession that she had been seduced by a deacon of the church, it was considered advisable to abolish the office of penitentiary presbyter. The severity of the penances deterred sinners from confessing their guilt; for a candidate for forgiveness had to practise such austerities as made ordinary life impossible. With his hair garment, his severe fasts, enduring for years, his constant presence at the services, and his compulsory abstinence from all domestic joy, his condition was practically that of an ascetic. Nor did Pope Leo the Great (440–461) allow the penitent, after he had obtained his hard won pardon to join, relax his discipline. For the rest of his life he was forbidden to cohabit with his wife, to serve in the army, or to practise in the law court. By this time, however, the church had become more merciful than in early days, and no man who sought reconciliation at his death was refused. But death-bed penance was rightly deemed unsatisfactory, especially when the sinner had evidently hoped to avoid the inconvenience of a life of penitential sorrow. Consequently in many places, and notably in Gaul, it became a custom to institute general instead of personal penances, and at the beginning of Lent the whole congregation was recognised as sinful and needing reconciliation. Thus Ash Wednesday assumed importance as a day of universal repentance.

In Britain first with the Celtic monks, who were very active in the sixth and seventh centuries on the Continent, and later with the Roman missionaries a scheme of prescribed penalties were embodied in Penitentials. These were originally intended for the monastic disciples of the Celtic abbots, part of whose necessary discipline was to confess their sins; but the laity also sought the consolation of unburthening their consciences to the priest and private confession became more and more prevalent throughout the Christian world, which gradually tended to adopt the British practice of exacting no public penance and reconciliation of the penitent.

Thus the doctrine of penance had undergone considerable modification in the course of ages. All acknowledged that the church had the power to bind and loose given to Peter and to the Apostles by Christ himself, but at first it was felt that this must not be used towards baptized persons guilty of the gravest sins. Then one penance was allowed, next death-bed reconciliation was never refused; a discipline was also established, which proved unworkable and a cause of offence. This resulted in the gradual disuse of public penance, and the tacit abandonment of the possibility of but one post-baptismal repentance. On the contrary people were exhorted to come frequently to the priest in order to tell their sins and receive advice, healing discipline and pardon. It remained only to regulate this system. By this time, it must be remembered, the Mass was usually attended by non-communicants and the laity partook of the mysteries at rare intervals and prepared for doing so by confession. Thus fortified by an assurance that God had pardoned them, they could approach the altar.

It was not, however, till the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 that confession was organized, regulated and made obligatory on every believer. The decree has been slightly modified in so far as it is no longer obligatory to confess only to the parish priest and that Christian burial is no longer denied to those who disobey.

Its provisions are:

Every member of the Church after attaining years of discretion is to confess to his own priest at least once a year. He

is to fulfil the penance imposed on him to the best of his ability and to communicate at least at Easter, unless advised to the contrary by the priest. The penalty for disobedience is excommunication and refusal of Christian burial. If anyone wishes to confess to an outside priest his confession is invalid unless the parish priest has given leave. Under no circumstances may the secrets of the confessional be disclosed; a priest guilty of this is to be thrust into a monastery to do perpetual penance for the rest of his life.

Thus was evolved the Roman confessional, with all its tremendous power for good and evil, with the priest acting as judge of the penitent and the physician of his soul. Penitence, first a privilege, had in process of time come to be regarded as a duty. Originally a voluntary act, for no man needed to submit to it unless he really desired to return to the fold, it was made a necessary discipline. In like manner confession of sin, once almost purely informal, was insisted upon as a duty incumbent upon every Christian when he or she came to years of discretion; and pardon, which had been granted but once and was frequently given only on the deathbed, was bestowed at intervals throughout a lifetime. The ancient discipline of severity with all its publicity had been replaced by a system of private penance, but terrible indeed were the consequences to those who neglected the invitation of the Church when confession became a duty for all. But the coercive powers of the Church were public as well as private, and it is now desirable to give a sketch of its jurisdiction and the so-called Courts Christian.

From the very earliest times the Christian Churches had set up courts of their own. St. Paul had recommended the Corinthians to do this, rather than to go to law with one another before unbelieving judges. Perhaps even our Lord had the same object in view, when he advised his disciples, if they had a grievance against a brother to tell it "to the church." [1] At a very early date the Christian bishop acted

[1] I Cor. vi. 4; Matt. xviii. 15–17. It is doubtful whether the words of our Lord can be so interpreted. They hardly seem to be a genuine saying of His.

as the judge in the community. With the Peace of the Church his judicial position was increasingly recognised by the Roman law. In Visigothic Spain and England he was an assessor with the civil judges, but this was in accordance with national, not Roman, custom. In the West the Metropolitan claimed a superior jurisdiction, but this was not always allowed, the bishops being generally the supreme tribunal in the diocese. As the work increased the bishop deputed officials to hear and decide causes, and the custom arose in many places of giving the archdeacon a separate tribunal of his own. But in process of time the final appeal lay with the Pope, and Rome became the central point in the Christian system. Thus a vast system of law courts and procedure grew up, and the Church administered affairs on principles far more scientific than the lay courts, with their crude ideas of deciding civil or criminal cases.

The law of these ecclesiastical courts—"Courts Christian" as they were termed—was the Canon Law of the Church. Ever since the fifth century there had been collections of the Canons of different councils and the decretals of popes. These formed an immense Corpus Juris which was reduced to shape by Gratian, a teacher at Bologna, in his *Decretum* about A.D. 1148. In the East the ecclesiastical law was quite as elaborate and complicated as in the West and was embodied in what was called the *nomocanon.*

The Canon Law dealt with a wide range of subjects which for the present purpose may be divided into Civil and Criminal. The Civil Law of the church dealt with questions of property, the fabrics and ornaments of churches, the dues of the clergy, tithes, offerings, etc., marriage, testamentary disposition of property—mostly personal, as realty came under feudal law: even contracts were a matter for the church courts as the breach of certain agreements involved the sin of perjury. Then the Courts Christian claimed as coming before them cases in which the clergy were involved as plaintiffs; and this frequently brought about a conflict with the lay courts. In the Middle Ages it is hardly an exaggeration to say

that law occupied at least as much of the time of the clergy as their religious duties; for the administration of all the law, civil as well as ecclesiastical, was long in their hands. In fact the Canon Law was fully as important as the law of the State. To this day the degree of LL.D., Doctor of Laws, really means one who has studied Canon and Civil Laws, as opposed to the D.C.L., Doctor in Civil Law.

But the Canon Law dealt with offences; and as such had a criminal side. At first, as has been shewn, the only penalty which the clergy could inflict was excommunication. The offender was driven out of the community and became no more than a heathen and a publican to the Christian brotherhood.

If a penalty was imposed it was by way of penance, a favour granted very sparingly and providing a means of returning to the fold of the Church. But penance was not properly a penalty at all, but it was purely voluntary and was regarded rather as a remedy than as a punishment. Even those prescribed in the penitentials were possibly originally part of the discipline which monks had accepted voluntarily. Gradually public acts of penance for notorious sin were imposed on offenders; and this came about when a sentence of excommunication was, not sending an unworthy Christian back to a pagan world, but involved all the penalty of social ostracism. Little but death could be looked for by a person finally cut off from the Church, when all his countrymen as Christians were compelled under threat of a like sentence to avoid him. Thus it came to pass that a man condemned to penance, heavy fines, or scourging, was really punished criminally by the Church. Many offenders were sentenced to rigorous confinement in a monastery.

But the Church in many countries, notably England, had no means of exacting its penalties. True its decrees were enforced by the king's officials; and it was forbidden to inflict vindictive penalties by its own fundamental law. Unlike the sentence of a lay court which condemned a man to severe punishment in order to mark the seriousness of his offence and to deter others, that of a Court Christian was intended to

bring the culprit to a better frame of mind, and was professedly "for his soul's sake."

The clergy, by which was meant everybody in the remotest degree connected with the Church, that is in minor orders, and included a large proportion of the population, claimed to be amenable only to the Courts Christian. This proved a fruitful cause of dispute between the Church and the Sovereign, on account of the fact that the Church by its constitution provided no adequate penalty for the more serious crimes. Thus the church courts could only sentence a murderer who ought to be hanged for the good of society, to be confined in a monastery for the good of his soul.

But until the law books of Justinian began to be intensively studied in the twelfth century, and men trained in the Civil Law began to replace unlearned judges in the secular courts, the Canon Law was, not only infinitely more humane, but also more scientific than any system in existence, as the clergy with all their shortcomings represented the best civilization known in the Western world.

The crime, however, which was regarded with the greatest horror and was believed to be most dangerous was heresy. All men believed that the future life was infinitely more important than the transitory existence of men in this world, as it was eternal for happiness or for an indescribable misery. Outside the Church this misery was inevitable; and for the man who left the fold, the damnation of hell was certain. This belief was universal, and the laity feared the danger of dying outside the Church intensely. The man therefore who tried to seduce them beyond its pale and to bring them into danger of everlasting fire was infinitely worse than the murderer and deserved the extremest punishment. Church law, however, made the better instructed clergy shrink from bloodshed, especially as they knew it to be a fundamental principle of Christianity that persuasion and not force must be applied to keep men in the Church. Consequently, as has been said, the heretic was more in danger from the fury of the people than from the bigotry of the clergy.

The earliest heretics were as a rule clergy. In earliest time the Gnostics numbered laity and women among their teachers, though Marcion was a presbyter and the son of a bishop. But the heresiarchs were all members of the clerical order. Arius was a priest, Nestorius a bishop, Entyches a monk. The laity were as a rule orthodox and earnestly desired to remain so. Nor can it be wondered at that heresy flourished most among those who had not merely to receive humbly the teaching of the Church, but to consider all that it implied. And it must be borne in mind that most of the heresy of the early Middle Ages, at any rate in the West, turned on deep mysteries unintelligible to an uninstructed layman and was debated in a language which he did not understand. In the twelfth century, however, the clergy had mainly, by the abuse of their privileges, become objects of deep distrust, and heresy became anti-clerical. The wild and un-Christian views of the Manichæan Albigenses owed their chief attraction to the lives of their exponents, being models of asceticism, self-denial and even decency compared with those of the majority of the Catholic clergy. With the close of the Albigensian War therefore a new régime was inaugurated. It had come to pass that the devout minded laity were arrayed against the clergy; and that after trying the effect of armed force to repress heresy, the machinery of Law was devised to make its recrudescence impossible. With the thirteenth century the Inquisition, in the sense of an organized enquiry into heresy, came into being.

The blame of the institution of this awful tribunal has been laid at the door of one of the best men of Christian antiquity. Augustine of Hippo had in reference to the Donatists used language, which was employed to justify its institution nearly eight hundred years after his death. Rightly to understand the institution, it must always be borne in mind that heresy was considered by clergy and laity alike as the most serious of crimes and both were agreed that it must be suppressed at all costs. This notion long outlived the Middle Ages; for both in England and Scotland there were executions for it in the seventeenth century. In justice to the Church,

moreover, the procedure against this offence was not devised by it but taken over from the criminal procedure of the Roman Law. Without any attempt to palliate the horrors of the system it is well to remember that the object of all criminal law for many generations was primarily to strike terror; and the idea was that it was better that some innocent people should perish than one guilty person escape. In criminal cases the accused was regarded as guilty till he had proved his innocence, and hardly any advantage the law could take was considered unfair.[1] Moreover, the worse the crime the less chance the prisoner was given. In England, for example, no man down to the eighteenth century was allowed the benefit of counsel to help him if accused of high treason, unless to speak on points of law. The record of a state trial in the days of the Tudors is much the same as of one by the Inquisition, the tortures of which were not worse than those employed in criminal procedure. The terrible thing is that the harsh law of ancient Rome was put into operation in defence of Christianity; and that often what was construed to be heresy was really the enunciation of truths which were fundamental to the teaching of the Gospel. With this warning against doing injustice to a system so iniquitous and alien to the spirit of the Christian religion, it is proposed to describe the origin of the Papal Inquisition.

The Dominican order of Friars Preachers was the result of Dominic's resolution to combat the Albigenses with its own weapons. The object was to outmatch the heretics in self-denial and to refute them by argument. Thus Dominic and his followers rapidly became the trained theologians of the Catholic Church. Whether the saint encouraged the persecution in Languedoc or not is a matter for careful scrutiny. His admirers maintained that he was a perfect hammer of heretics, the glory and stay of the inquisitorial tribunals. They now con-

[1] This is perhaps an extreme statement and I quote a note of Dr. Munroe Smith which he was kind enough to make. "I do not think that the inquisitorial procedure was harsh or unfair until the fourth century and not even then except in treason cases. Nothing is so cruel as fear; and Hinschius thinks the inquisitorial procedure in the ecclesiastical courts gave fair protection to the accused." (See Hinschius in Holtzendorff, *Realencyclopadie*, 3d ed. or any of the older editions.)

tend that he did his utmost to restrain the horrors of the time. Assuredly, however, he is not personally responsible for the Inquisition, which was organized after his death. He was, however, in Toulouse at the time of the murder of Peter of Castelnau in 1208 and during the sack of Béziers. He met Simon de Montfort, in September, 1209, and enjoyed the friendship of this bigoted crusader. It is to his prayers that the striking victory of Montfort over Peter of Aragon at Muret, 1213, is said to have been due; and the notorious persecutor of heretics, Fulk of Toulouse, encouraged him in organizing his Preachers. However, whether Dominic approved of persecution or not, he certainly was a marked figure as a religious leader and promoter of piety. His chief work in Gaul was the organization of an order of women at Prouille, into which the Catholic ladies were attracted; and this became the Second Order, the First, that of Preachers, being confirmed by Honorius III, December 22, 1216. Dominic himself was made Master of the Sacred Palace, or the special theologian to assist the Pope in matters pertaining to doctrine. The Order was established in Rome and given the church of St. Sixtus; and it spread rapidly throughout Europe.

Up to this time the bishops had been made responsible for the suppression of heresy in their dioceses. On the whole they lacked the necessary qualifications in face of the revival of erroneous opinions in the twelfth century. Many were engaged by secular duties, imposed on them by the necessity of their positions of princes ruling large territories. All were inevitably occupied in administering large estates, and gathering the funds needed to maintain extensive retinues. Many had had the training of lawyers, one may say, of civil servants. Few were expert theologians, capable of dealing with fanatics so plausible and crafty as the leaders of the Cathari, or so versed in Scripture as the followers of Waldo. Moreover, they were on the whole tolerant, and averse to hunting out criminals who did not disturb the peace of their dioceses. But in the thirteenth century the temper of the Church changed. It had come to a death struggle, between the Papacy and the Em-

pire, as well as between Orthodoxy and Catharism; and the new orders of the Friars had arisen as zealous champions of the Church.

The first law prescribing the penalty of death by burning for heresy naturally came from a secular ruler. Frederic II so ordered it in 1224, and seven years later, in 1231, he was followed by Pope Gregory IX's decretal ordering the condemned heretics to be handed over to the secular arm. Though suspected of being a free thinker and notoriously consorting with Mohammedans, perhaps on that account, the Emperor was a ruthless persecutor of the Cathari, Paterines and other heretics in his Northern Italian dominions. But there had been several executions, all more or less irregular, and still heresy persisted; the fact being that the diocesan system was not adapted to the extermination of what was deemed to be the most serious of crimes.

To remedy this the Papal Inquisition gradually took the place of the Episcopal, but only by slow degrees and after much opposition.

An Inquest, or Inquisition, was held by delegates appointed by the Pope to seek out and try heretics. As a rule they were Dominicans, and went on their assises attended by their police or "familiars," who were often armed, for the duties of an inquisitor were not discharged without danger. The inquisitor was instructed to act with the bishop but often there was much rivalry between the two jurisdictions, which the Pope had difficulty in adjusting.

On the arrival of the Inquisitors all the inhabitants were assembled together and the Faith was expounded to them. Then a period of grace was proclaimed, during which people were encouraged to make confession if they were guilty of heresy. Those who confessed were not harshly treated but fined, sent on pilgrimages or condemned to wear a cross for a certain period. After the period of grace the inquisitors began to arrest suspects. These were exhorted to confess and increasing pressure was put upon them. They were first told that their crimes were known and that unless they confessed

they would inevitably be burned. If they persisted, the confinement was made more severe; their amount of food was reduced and they were left in misery to reflect on their misdeeds. When worn out they were visited by "tried men," or experts, skilful in extorting admission of heresy. If these failed torture was employed. It might only be used once, and according to the law it does not appear to have been needlessly cruel, it being expressly stated that no limb should be injured, nor life endangered. It was only by abuse that it was anything like the horrible thing often depicted. Nevertheless it was often very dreadful, and by legal fictions it was sometimes made to last many days. Even witnesses were racked. But the law was milder than that of the civil ruler, though the secrecy of the proceedings of the Inquisition made illegal cruelties inevitable.

The principles on which heretics were proceeded against were those of Roman criminal law with its three forms of action: *accusation*, *denunciation*, and *inquisition*. The accuser formally inscribed himself as responsible for the action under penalty. The public officer by *denunciation* summoned the court to take action. In the *inquisition* the offender was summoned and imprisoned and the indictment was presented to him, with the proviso that further charges could not be made to aggravate his guilt. He was persuaded to confess and if he was not prepared to do so the witnesses were examined, but not in his presence. Care was, however, to be taken that the accusers should be men of repute and not inspired by personal malice. The judge, generally the Ordinary or Bishop, was to be convinced that there was reasonable presumption of guilt before he instituted proceedings. The inquisitor, Bernard Gui, enunciates that the purpose is "That the rashness of the perverse be punished in such a way as to avoid injuring innocent persons."

It is but just to admit that the papal legislation as a rule was directed to secure, not only justice, but a certain humanity; and, as many pontiffs were trained lawyers, they had a natural dislike to violent or illegal procedure. Innocent III,

the sternest asserter of papal supremacy, waged constant war on the superstition and absurdity of ordeals, trials by combat, and the ridiculous procedure of a barbarous age. Indeed, one of the objects of his legislation and that of his successors in the matter of heresy, was to give the accused, if not a fair trial, at least some sort of a trial before condemnation. At least the setting up of inquisitorial courts was better than mobs burning heretics wholesale or crusading armies slaying them to shouts of "Slay on, God will know his own." Bad as it was, the record of Bernard Gui, who between 1308 and 1322 found six hundred and twenty-six persons guilty of heresy and burned forty of them, contrasts favourably with the slaughter which took place before the procedure was legalised.

Before passing final judgment on the inquisitorial process it is at least necessary to take a hasty glimpse of the working of the institution as devised in the thirteenth century.

In treating of the legislation and procedure against crimes, which we are inclined to pronounce either venal or purely imaginary like heresy or witchcraft, it must be borne in mind that severity was invariably popular and that the harsh legislation came, not from the heart of cruel priests, kings or governments, but in answer to the demands of public sentiment. In the records of witch-trials the people firmly believed that they or their friends had been injured by supernatural means and clamoured for the punishment of those responsible for their sufferings. It was the same as regards heresy and it has been truly remarked of the twelfth century, "The people disliked what was to them the extreme dilatoriness of the clergy in pursuing heretics." [1] Heresy was, in addition, deemed the most fearful of crimes and all rulers, civil and ecclesiastical, were in cordial agreement that at all costs it must be extirpated, not only to save their fellow creatures from the pains of everlasting hell, but to maintain the very existence of society. However men might deplore the degeneracy of the clergy of the age, and denounce the abuses of their lives or the venality of the Roman Curia, they were unanimous in agreement

[1] *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Art. Inquisition, Vol. VIII, p. 28, col. 2.

that the Catholic Faith must be preserved at all hazards. Nor were the Catharist sects against whom the laws were mainly directed harmless enthusiasts for a biblical religion; but often under a guise of conformity were promoting actually unchristian beliefs and practises. For the spread of these and other revolts against the Church the conduct of the clergy may have been responsible; but none the less the world believed that false doctrines must be suppressed.

Accordingly heresy was proceeded against as the greatest of crimes and the accused given but little chance of clearing himself. The most practised lawyers examined him and twisted his every word into an admission of guilt. He was told that the evidence against him was overwhelming; but he was never allowed to see his accusers nor to know even their names. No one was permitted to appear in his defence, and his only chance was to admit his guilt and to accept the sentence of the Church. The suspect was surrounded by spies; it was practically tantamount to heresy for his nearest and dearest to conceal his guilt if they were cognisant of it. Even those under the legal age might bear testimony against him. Nor did death deliver him from the far-reaching arm of the Inquisition. He might, even after his decease, be accused of heresy; and if guilty, his body was exhumed and his children suffered the confiscation of goods and the infamy they would have been liable to had he been condemned alive. The inquisitors themselves obtained an authority which even individual popes would have been powerless to control. Only very powerful states, like Venice, dared to exclude their tribunals; and these were equally severe to heretics, and in some instances even more so than the Church. The story of the misfortunes of the Counts of Toulouse, in and after the Albigensian crusades, was enough to warn any temporal ruler against mildness in dealing with the enemies of the Faith.

When the accused had been convicted of heresy the sentences had to be pronounced and to give them more solemnity a fixed day was appointed to conclude the business of an inquisitorial tribunal. Here there is a curious mixture of the the-

ory of the primitive Church and the practice of the Roman Law.

Theoretically the Church could not punish. Its sentences were not penalties but fatherly advice to the sinner to submit himself voluntarily to penance. Only in extreme cases was a heretic cast out of the Church. No one in fact was sentenced by the court unless he had confessed and abjured his sin. Had he failed to do so he was expelled from the Christian body. The penitent, therefore, was not sentenced but advised to betake himself to some monastery and undergo due penance or to pay a fine for the benefit of the poor, wear a cross, or go on a pilgrimage. Some of the sentences are apparently mild, some really diabolically severe, many entailed a life of the severest penal monastic discipline. But over all self-accused and convicted heretics hung the terrible prospect that if they broke prison, disregarded their penances, or in any way resumed their errors, nothing could save them from being treated as relapsed heretics, handed over to the secular arm and burnt alive. Here, however, inquisitors of the Church were at times more merciful than the law, and interposed between the secular arm, which was seldom unwilling to inflict sentence of death on the wretched relapsed heretic. In the treatment of the relapsed there is evidently a survival of the old belief that penitence can only once be given, and, after it is abused, rejection by the faithful is inevitable.

Another survival of ancient belief is seen in the fact that no unbaptized person was amenable to a church court. A Jew, for example, could never be brought before the Inquisition; for, according to the precepts of the Church, no one can be made a Christian save by persuasion. In the Spanish Inquisition in the fifteenth century the "Jews" who suffered were converted Jews, who had accepted Christianity to escape expulsion from the country, and had reverted to the customs of their ancestors, the slightest sign of the observance of which was deemed a proof of heresy.

The Inquisition was mainly confined to the Latin nations of Southern Europe. Among the Teutonic and Scandinavian

people it had no footing till a late period. In England the burning of a deacon, who had apostatised and married a Jewess in 1222, was regarded with horror; and no law sanctioned such an execution till, as late as 1400 an anti-clerical Parliament passed the Act *De Heretico Comburendo* to check the excesses of the Lollards, who were suspected of radical political tendencies. Fourteen years later Henry V instituted mixed tribunals to try heretics, instead of leaving the sentence wholly to the bishops.

As is natural, Protestants have been loud in their condemnation of the whole system of the Inquisition and have dwelt upon its many undoubted abominations. Roman Catholics have, on the contrary, pointed to its constitution and have endeavoured to show that as a legal tribunal it was rather more than less merciful than others of former days. The number of deaths it inflicted has certainly been greatly exaggerated; and in the thirteenth century, in which it originated, it must have caused less misery than when it was employed against the Reformers in the sixteenth. Assuredly, then, neither Catholics nor Protestants can bear the blame of being the only persecutors nor can cruelties in the name of religion be said to have been worse than those more recently perpetrated for or against vested interests. The whole question can now be subjected to an impartial discussion; and only those who still persist in maintaining that intolerance of opinion ought to be practised in order to restrain the right of men and women to think for themselves, are to be condemned.

One noteworthy fact, however, remains to be noticed. The Inquisition was the outcome of the old theory of penance which after repeated modifications throughout the centuries was evolved into the institution which has been described in this chapter.

Severe and terrible, however, as the Church was towards the heretic, towards other criminals great mercy was sometimes shown. The two murders which thrilled Christendom in their day was the slaying of Thomas Becket at the altar of his metropolitan Cathedral at Canterbury in 1170 and the assas-

sination of the Dominican Inquisitor and saint Peter Martyr in a wood near Milan in 1252. It was in the interest of the Church that the crime killing Becket should be branded as one of the most atrocious in history. The Preachers regarded Peter as the glory of the Dominican order. Yet the four knights who slew Becket were allowed to live, not in misery and obscurity, but in high positions of honour; the fact being that the law which shielded the clerk guilty of murder from the secular punishment of death, also protected the murderer of a clergyman from the vengeance of the law, because his was an ecclesiastical offence. It is even stranger that the priest who killed Peter Martyr was allowed to end his days in a Dominican monastery, where his penitence won him in popular estimation spiritual promotion, second only to that gained by his victim; and he ranks, though not officially, among the beatified. It is these examples which reveal the strange working of the mind of mediaeval churchmen.[1]

The Inquisition was the weapon devised to beat down heresy, but a little before its institution a powerful antidote to rebellion was perfected in the form of the *interdict*. The

[1]There is a most interesting letter to the Bishops of Winchester, Norwich, and Ely preserved in Hook's *Archbishops of Canterbury* (Anglo-Norman period), Vol. II, p. 516 ff., by Richard (1174–1184), the successor of Becket. It begins thus: "In the Church of England a custom has arisen, baneful to all, and in every way to be reprehended If a Jew or a layman of the lowest grade be killed, the murderer is immediately sentenced to the punishment of death; whereas if any one has killed a priest or clergyman of the lower or higher order, the Church, contented (*contenta*) with excommunication only, or, I should rather say contemned (*contempta*) through it, refuses the aid of a carnal weapon." The archbishop mentioned a particularly atrocious instance of a certain William Frechet and his wife, who avowed having killed a priest at Winchester, and went to Rome to get absolution.

The murderers of Becket did penance, and were all considerable men after the crime. Tradition, of course, says they all perished miserably. But the facts are that all four prospered. Hugh de Moreville was a wealthy gentleman in the North of England in the reign of King John; Reginald Fitzurse is said to have fled to Ireland and have taken the Irish equivalent of his Norman name, being known as MacMahon (son of the Bear); William de Tracy founded a famous family still represented in England. Stanley, *Historical Memorials of Canterbury*, II (The Murder of Becket). The murderer of St. Peter Martyr, Pietro Balsamo, known as Catino, finally repented; and he is represented among the Dominican saints as the "blessed Acerinus." (Lea, *Hist. Inquisit.*)

word *interdicere* means to forbid; but *interdictum* was used in a legal sense, and meant the interlocutory edict of the prætor forbidding something to be done till the case in dispute had been finally decided. In the law in Scotland the word *interdict* is the equivalent to the English *injunction*. The word in its ecclesiastical sense does not occur before the eleventh century. The thing, however, is older; and it is an open question when the first "interdict" in its more modern sense was issued. It was practically a general excommunication, a curse imposed on a place and its inhabitants. Excommunication was terrible enough in its consequence. Even emperors and kings were crushed under its weight. The faithful were warned under the most dreadful penalties to avoid the person under the ban of the Church. It was at the risk of their eternal salvation that they so much as ate with him. To show him any kindness was to participate in his sin, and perhaps to share in the penalty. But at least the excommunication was intended for a guilty individual, and it was hoped that its effect would be to bring him to a sense of his sin. An interdict could plead no such justification. It smote the innocent as well as the sinners and was at times intended to bring pressure to bear on an offending prince by forcing his suffering subjects to demand that the ban, which his conduct towards the Church had brought down upon them, should be removed.

The interdict is still used and as lately as 1909 Pope Pius imposed one on a north Italian city for fifteen days as a punishment. But it is long since it has been used to bring a recalcitrant ruler to submit to the Church. It is said that these "local" interdicts, which punished cities or districts by withholding the sacraments of the Church, date from the days of St. Basil; but the great age of interdicts was the age of Innocent III (1198–1216), who used them frequently and remorselessly. No less than fifty-seven belong to his reign. Interdicts could be pronounced over places by the bishop; but his ban was confined to his own diocese. The Pope had the power to "interdict" whole countries, and to secure the observance of his decrees. The most famous interdicts were pronounced against Scotland

by Alexander III in 1181, against the City of Rome by his predecessor Hadrian IV, against France in 1200, because King Philip Augustus had repudiated his wife, against England, for the contumacy of John for not receiving Stephen Langton as Archbishop, against Jerusalem because of the presence of the rebellious and excommunicated Emperor Frederic II. Thus no prince was too powerful, no place too holy to escape from the pressure of a papal interdict.

In 1200 all churches in the dominions of Philip Augustus were ordered to be closed, the Mass was not to be celebrated; but on Fridays the host was to be consecrated by a priest and a single acolyte, and no one might receive the sacrament except the dying. No layman might enter a church, he could not even hear the priest repeat the offices. Even in Passion Week the Eucharist might not be celebrated. Only on the very greatest festivals was Mass allowed. Nor might the women be "churched" after childbirth, or the dying receive Extreme Unction. But more terrible than anything else, the burial of the dead was forbidden, the churchyards were closed, and the laity were warned that it was a great sin to bury in unconsecrated ground. While the interdict lasted baptism was withheld from the children, and unbaptised infants allowed to go to endless punishment. In the interdict in the reign of John in England corpses, even those of bishops, were unburied, till at last the Bishop of London was induced to issue a bull which permitted the citizens to be buried in waste land belonging to St. Bartholomew's Priory. Sometimes interdicts were launched for the purpose of forcing peoples to pay real or imaginary dues to the Church, and the island of Cyprus was threatened once if the arrears of its tithes were not forthcoming. It is true that all the clergy of a kingdom seldom agreed to observe an interdict (that of 1208–1212 was only partially enforced in England); but, as long as the Popes were powerful enough to use this weapon in a superstitious age, they had the princes of the West under their control by working on the terrors of their unfortunate subjects.

AUTHORITIES

For the first part of this chapter I have been dependent on the two volumes of O. D. Watkins, *A History of Penance*, a work of great learning and research with invaluable extracts from all the documents bearing on the subject. For the rest I am greatly indebted to Henry Charles Lea's *History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages*, 3 vols. I have also made extensive use of the articles in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, and of F .W. Maitland's *Canon Law in England*. A layman writing on law is beset by pitfalls; and, if I have avoided any of these, it is due to Professor Munroe Smith of Columbia University, New York, who kindly read my manuscript.

CHAPTER IX

THE FRIARS — THE SCHOOLMEN — THE UNIVERSITIES

Francis of Assisi — Popularity of the movement — Utilised by the Church — Danger of Franciscanism — Innocent III and Francis — Cardinal Ugolino, later Gregory IX — Brother Elias — The Church at Assisi — Absolute rule of poverty — Brother Leo's *Sacrum Commercium* — The Everlasting Gospel — Lives of St. Francis — Party of the strict observance — The Legend of the Three Companions — Bonaventura's Life of Francis — The *Fioretti* — The Dominicans — Tertiaries — Monks and Friars — The new learning of the 13th century — Aristotle — Contrast between Dominicans and Franciscans — The *Summæ* — Alexander of Hales — Bonaventura — Philosophy of Bonaventure — Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas — Duns Scotus — Friar Bacon — Study of Law — Gratian's *Decretum* — Medicine — Scholasticism and the classics — Universities — Monastic schools — Bologna — Paris.

The thirteenth century was an age of great ideas. In it medieval civilization found its best expression; but at the same time it sowed the seed of its own decay. It was the era of new ideals of life, a new philosophy, and in a sense of the dawn of modern Europe. Within its first decade a movement began, destined to revolutionise men's views of religion and to place in the hands of the Church a formidable force for its contest with the rulers of the world.

The appearance of St. Francis is one of the most extraordinary events of the Middle Ages. He resembles in some respects the more evangelical of the heretics of the period, notably Peter Waldo. The son of a wealthy merchant, he was indulgently brought up and when young he was conspicuous as a man of pleasure. Suddenly he was converted and sold his father's property to give the money to the poor. On being rejected by his father he offered himself naked to the bishop of Assisi, who gave him a coarse robe and allowed him to dedicate himself to God. Fired by the example of Christ, who had nowhere to lay his head, Francis dedicated himself to the Lady Poverty. He practiced self renunciation to the utmost limit, but without moroseness. As the "Poor Man" he espoused

Poverty in a spirit of knightly romance and poetic gaiety. He gave himself up to work among the outcasts of society, tending the lepers with especial care. His enthusiasm attracted countless disciples who followed him without any thought of becoming a new order, but simply with the idea of obeying Christ's injunction to forsake all and follow Him. Francis made his headquarters at Assisi at the Portiuncula where he and his companions taught the simplest of gospels. He called his early friends his "Knights of his Round Table."

The movement was essentially popular and lay. Francis acted with prophetic rather than priestly authority. In 1212, though only a deacon, he admitted St. Clara to the monastic life and gave her the veil. Thus he inaugurated what became the female side of Franciscanism, the Poor Clares, or Minoresses. What Francis did, rather than to plan an order, was to set up an ideal, a Christlike following of Poverty. His "rule" was not a code of laws, but the simplest of Gospel precepts. His brotherhood was one consisting of the poorest of the poor, the *Minores*, as contrasted with the *Majores* of the Italian city states. Further, Francis was not in any sense conventional. He was never a monk at heart, but always a child of genius. He was enthusiastic for the promulgation of his message throughout the world and sent his brethren (*fratres—friars*) to proclaim it far and wide. He himself went and preached before the Sultan of Egypt at Damietta, and he established missions in the Holy Land. But there was nothing formal in his Rule and he himself was the most impulsive of men, paying little regard to what people expected of him, often causing offence by his very simplicity and naturalness. Francis was no scholar, his training had been that of a layman; and he loved nature rather than books. He gave the only Bible in the Portiuncula to a poor widow, saying that as she had given two sons to the order, it was only right that he should assist her. He, half jestingly, forbade a brother to have a Breviary of his own. On his deathbed instead of showing the usual monkish repugnance, almost necessary for a reputation for sanctity at this time, he asked to see a lady who had given him a lamb to be

his companion; and "Brother Giacomina," as he called her, was present when he died. All the stories of him reveal a simplicity of heart, which refused to be restrained by man's ideas of what a typical saint should be. In this lay the originality of the singularly beautiful character of the Poor Man of Assisi.

In his essay on Ranke's *History of the Popes*, Macaulay extols the wisdom of Rome in its treatment of St. Francis. The passage is as brilliant as it appears to the writer of this chapter to be misleading. Macaulay dwells on the consummate policy of the Roman Church in dealing with enthusiasts. "The ignorant enthusiast whom the Anglican Church makes an enemy, and whatever the polite and learned may think, a most dangerous enemy, the Catholic Church makes a champion. She bids him nurse his beard, covers him with a garb of coarse dark stuff, ties a rope round his waist, and sends him forth to teach in her name. He costs her nothing. He takes not a ducat away from her beneficed clergy. He lives by the alms of those who respect his spiritual character, and are grateful for his instructions. He preaches, not exactly in the style of Masillon, but in the way which moves the passions of uneducated hearers; and all his influence is employed to strengthen the Church of which he is the minister."

On the surface these words apply to Franciscanism; but further acquaintance reveals a fallacy underlying them. The Church showed marvellous skill in directing the movement into the desired current. But it is no exaggeration to say that the Franciscanism which exercised so powerful an effect, and became so useful to the Church, was not the movement inaugurated by Francis, but one engineered by clearer heads and colder hearts than his. The rank and file of the order became a kind of irregular army, invaluable to the cause of the Papacy; its leaders strengthened the intellectual influence of the Church. Its enthusiasts, on the contrary, became a danger which all the power of the Inquisition was evoked to destroy.

The appearance of St. Francis was a danger at least as threatening as that of heresy in Languedoc. The very beauty of the man's character made him a formidable peril. Nothing

could have made Francis into an heresiarch or a radical. He lacked the arrogance of the one, and the restless discontent of the other. Revolutionaries are almost always unlovable; their fierce indignation at all they consider abuses, their passion to uproot what seems to impede the progress of humanity, whether in religion or politics, makes them unpleasant to live with. Their very love inspires them with a passion of hatred. Francis lacked all these traits. He did not lash the clergy with abuse like Henry the Deacon; he had a passionate reverence for the Mystery of the Altar; he sought no political ideals, like Arnold of Brescia. All he required for himself, all that he asked of his followers was to follow the example of Christ, and to practice utter renunciation as the spouse of Holy Poverty.

Herein lay the danger. There was but one St. Francis, and he had scores of imitators; and, in religion especially, admirers who try to emulate often simply caricature the original. Moreover, what had begun as a following of pure evangelical principles might in less worthy hands become a dangerous heresy, subversive of the foundations of society. If the world were to be flooded by hosts of undisciplined admirers of Francis, Holy Poverty might degenerate into something very unholy indeed, and their efforts be concentrated on an attack upon the Church which was, after all, the great property holder of the thirteenth century. Nor were indications wanting later as to what a general undisciplined Franciscan movement might have been.

Such a situation called for all the unrivalled diplomacy of Rome, and it justified its reputation by the skill displayed in meeting the difficulty. Francis and his company visited Innocent III, taking with them a simple evangelical rule of poverty. The Pope was at first disposed to dismiss these uncouth petitioners. A vision—perhaps reflection—induced him to listen when they returned. He sent them away with kind words, gave all the tonsure, admitting them thereby into the ranks of the clergy, and told them verbally that they might go and preach. But he committed himself to nothing, gave them no documents and let things take their course. Thus Francis

could neither say that the Pope had rejected him, nor show any proof that he was acting under authority from Rome. The Cardinals took up the matter and showed interest in the ideals of Francis. Chief among these was Ugolino, Bishop of Ostia, already an aged man, who was destined as Gregory IX to rule in extreme old age with a vigor often denied to youth. Of noble birth, a statesman and a lawyer, Ugolino may have had a sincere admiration for one so holy and so different from himself as Francis; but he doubtless saw in the Saint a most fitting instrument to promote the interests of the Holy See. At any rate he supplied the new order with the guidance necessary to make it a permanent institution. He found a most efficient helper in one of Francis's followers and friends. Brother Elias is one of the most perplexing figures in the movement. Though sprung from the common people, he was learned and ambitious, with the masterful spirit of a born ruler. He was a layman all his life; and for many years—they ultimately became bitter enemies—coöperated with Ugolino both as Cardinal, and as Pope Gregory IX. Both possessed a power of organizing an order in such a way as to give it permanence by diverting it from its original object. The first policy of the Papacy was to induce Francis to consent to amalgamate with the Dominicans or some other order, but here the Saint showed an unexpected firmness, and in most respectful terms declined to let his followers be merged. Failing this, it was necessary to provide Franciscanism with a rule; and a definite one was sanctioned in 1223 by Honorius III. Francis had already withdrawn from the leadership of his society, which was exercised by Elias as his Vicar General. Given up to austerities and devotion, the influence of Francis in practical matters became more and more negligible, though he and his faithful companions, like Brother Leo, saw and deplored the Order's coming degeneracy, which was bound to follow their abandonment of the ideal of utter poverty. But it was not till the death of Francis that Ugolino and Elias came out into the open. Though Francis had expressed a strong objection to his order having churches, save of the poorest de-

scription, it was decided that so sacred a body as his could only rest in a church which should rival the most sumptuous in Christendom; and Elias proceeded to prepare this and to collect money to make it worthy of the greatest saint of the age.

Brother Elias has been proclaimed to be the "Paul" of the Franciscan movement; and, though the analogy between it and Christianity is frequently pressed, it is most precarious. If it is true that Paul by relaxing the severe Judaism of the primitive Church so far popularised the new religion as to make it worldwide, Elias certainly did something similar to Paul. St. Francis was absolutely uncompromising in insisting on poverty and gospel simplicity. The church at Assisi, and the ceremonies of his canonization were a distinct repudiation of both. The order was to become a permanent institution, with activities everywhere, especially in the growing universities. The Founder was to become a saint of the first magnitude, an object of unbounded reverence, as the one man who had been honoured by bearing on his body the marks of the Lord Jesus, in the *Stigmata*, the five wounds in hands, feet, and side. Those in the hands were asserted to be in the exact form of the nails which had transfixed the sacred hands of the Redeemer.

This reversal of all Francis had taught was not brought about without opposition. His original disciples were stalwart for his insistence on absolute poverty, as was his *Testament*, written in his last days (1226). In it, whilst enjoining the profoundest reverence to the priesthood and the most unfaltering orthodoxy of belief, Francis declares that he and his brethren loved poor and abandoned churches, and were ignorant men, submissive to all. He had worked with his own hands and desired his friars to do the same. They were not to receive churches, habitations and all that men build for them, nor to request bulls in their favour from Rome. This was no new Rule: Francis had caused a short and simple Rule to be written, which the Pope had confirmed. Above all the Brethren were not to make glosses either in the Rule or in the will,

but to receive them as they were written in a clear and simple manner.

In July, 1227, less than a year after Francis's death, Brother Leo wrote the *Sacrum Commercium*, a dialogue between Francis and Holy Poverty, in which she explains all the shifts which would be made to displace her in the Order, and all the pleas which Avarice, under the guise of Prudence, will prefer. To the same period, and probably also to Brother Leo, is due the *Speculum Perfectionis*, in which Francis is represented as perfectly uncompromising in his insistence on Poverty. Even books may not be owned by his Friars.

Such then was the attitude of the immediate followers of Francis, the Spirituals, who took him literally and desired to carry out his wishes. But a life so idealised demands a belief that the perpetuation of human society is a matter of indifference, and is usually accompanied by a hope that something will happen to make the present conditions of life entirely unnecessary. Even to the literal acceptation of the Sermon on the Mount, the Apocalypse is a necessary complement. Its significance must be that the things of this life are so unimportant that the end of all things is at hand. To human nature angelic self-renunciation demands some sort of *interim ethic:* it is only possible to accept such counsels of perfection, because this world has a brief course left to run. Spiritual Franciscanism consequently had its eschatology based on the Everlasting Gospel of Abbot Joachim of Flore (*d.* 1200); and it was believed that the end of the age was fixed for 1260. But the policy of the Church of Rome looked to a longer future; and Ugolino and Elias legislated and acted so as to make Franciscanism permanent.

To understand the policy of the "liberal" Franciscan party it is desirable to study the history of how the Life of the Founder came to be written and how his Rule was modified.

In view of the disputes within the Order, the rivalry of the Dominicans and the hostility of the monks and parish priests, it became necessary that the facts of the life of a Saint, so

popular and so honoured by the Roman Church, should be put before the world in as edifying a light as possible. Accordingly in the year which followed the Canonization, July 16, 1228, Thomas of Celano, by order of Gregory IX, composed his life of St. Francis. This, though the earliest life, is not the most primitive account, because it has an obvious bias in favour of Elias, then an especial favourite of the Pope. However, in representing Francis as favourable to Elias, Celano had certainly not erred as the Saint was greatly under the fascination of the influence of Elias, the ablest of his followers.

Elias was Minister General from 1232 to 1239. His arbitrary rule disgusted the educated Franciscans on the one hand, and also exasperated the Spirituals. With his fall and his bitter quarrel with Gregory IX, the party of the stricter observance reasserted its influence, and the Life by Thomas of Celano became undesirable. Accordingly under the generalate of Crescentius de Jesi (1244 to 1247) the Brethren who had anything to tell were invited to send in their communications. The final result of this was the *Legend of the Three Companions*, the Friars Leo, Angelo, and Rufino. Here the early story of the Saint is told with great freshness and simplicity but all the later part of his career is omitted—possibly it was excised—and the reader is brought suddenly to his closing hours, death and canonization. Immediately after this Thomas of Celano produced the *first* part of his *Second* Life. The *second* part came when Giovanni di Parma was general (1247–1257). In this the changes in policy in the headquarters of the Order are seen. Poverty is now praised and the position of the Spiritual party strongly asserted.

The last phase of the struggle was the generalate of St. Bonaventure. The friends of Giovanni di Parma received the predictions of Abbot Joachim; but the new age did not come in 1260. Bonaventure, a learned professor of Paris, threw his whole weight on the side of those who wanted to make the Order a school of piety and learning. The Spirituals were confined in monasteries. Giovanni di Parma, by the special favour of Cardinal Ottobon, was permitted to retire to the Convent

of Greccio; and at the Chapter of Narbonne Bonaventure was commissioned to write the official life of St. Francis. At the next chapter held at Paris all copies of other legends were ordered to be destroyed, in order that Bonaventure's Life might be the sole authority. It is only by good fortune that the earlier lives have been preserved. In the authorised version of the Legend Francis is presented, not, in his natural simplicity, but as a typical wonder-working Saint; nor do the smooth periods of Bonaventure give the real man, of whom in later literature we get glimpses in the *Fioretti* or *Little Flowers of St. Francis*. The Saint as well as the Order had been changed and forced into a conventional mould. One thing, however, is evident from the story of the evolution of Franciscanism under ecclesiastical pressure that, but for what occurred, the Order would never have exerted the influence it did, nor have proved so great an example of rapid degeneration.

It has been already shown how Dominic was moved to found his Order of Preachers. His story lacks the romance which is attached to the origin of Franciscanism. A noble Spaniard brought up in clerical surroundings, he could never touch the imagination in the way St. Francis had done. Yet during his lifetime Dominic enjoyed the favour of the papal court and was recognised as a valued adviser. But whilst Francis was sending forth his Friars far and wide, Dominic had for some time but seven devoted adherents; and though later his order grew very rapidly, it increased more slowly than that of Francis. The two saints met in Italy. Dominic visited Assisi, and was so amazed at the simplicity of the life of the Portiuncula, that he made the decision to follow Poverty. But the real barrier between them was that Francis was a believer in evangelical simplicity, whilst Dominic, having to combat heresy, realised the need of learning. In vain therefore did he put on the cord of Francis, and beg that their work might be united in one order; their ideas were too incompatible, and other means had to be used to make the Franciscans include the learned of this world. Still, though in both orders poverty and learning were in the end skilfully

combined, the Friars of St. Francis were always the professed companions of the Poor, whilst those of St. Dominic were the accredited champions of the Church.

Dominic had instituted an order of Tertiaries, which had great influence on the development of the friars. Men and women who lived in the world were eligible. They lived under a sort of monastic rule adapted to secular life and gave the Dominicans a devoted body of lay folk of whose support they were assured. Though Francis had demanded absolute poverty, his followers allowed their friends to become Tertiaries, and thus gained the same advantages as their rivals.

The impulse which drove men and women into these mendicant orders marks a change in the development of Christianity; and in this respect St. Dominic was a pioneer. For centuries the monks had retired from the sinful world to lead a life of contemplation. Only circumstances made them take an active part as missionaries and reformers. The ideal they set before them was to be alone in communion with God. But by the twelfth century monasticism had spent its strength. There were no new orders, and few monasteries were founded. Henceforward the object of all who felt a call to a higher life was not so much to leave the world as to stay in it, though not to be of it, and to help men by acts of benevolence, or to become spiritual soldiers in defence of the Church.

A new ideal such as this results in a stimulus to intellectual activity; and circumstances contributed to make the appearance of the Friars coincident with the learned revival known as Scholasticism, due to the introduction of the philosophy of Aristotle into Western Europe.

Hitherto Aristotle had only been known in the schools as a teacher of Logic through his *Categories* and *De Interpretatione*. In the twelfth century the Jewish Aristotelians, Avicenna, Averroës and Maimonides brought his philosophy and science into notice; and first through Arabic, and later through translations direct from the Greek, the whole of his writings were known in Western Europe by 1272. After a long period of speculation about the highest mysteries, based on insufficient

data, a complete system of philosophy was available; but this was naturally suspected as heathen teaching, which had come into the schools through the medium of Jewish and Mohammedan philosophers. The teaching of Aristotle was consequently condemned by authority in 1210 and 1215. But ecclesiastical censures which could reduce emperors and kings to submission, and lay waste far and fertile territories, were of no avail against the new learning, which became dominant in the schools and rising universities and soon occupied the attention of the Friars.

As might be expected, each order was influenced by the purpose for which it was originally intended. The Dominicans were preachers and theologians. Their warfare was with heresy: their chief arguments were based on appeals to the reason. As teachers they naturally inclined to a logical system of theology, and fell back upon the Scriptures and the traditions of the Church. All innovations in religion were repugnant to them, as to men pledged to maintain the Faith pure and unimpaired. Their favourite teachers were St. Paul and Augustine, and their object was to make their scholars clear, logical and dogmatic. The Franciscans, on the other hand, appealed rather to the emotion. They aspired to bring the Gospel to the poor and unhappy. Their ideal Teacher was the Jesus of the early Gospels, who went about among the common people as their friend. Their work in hospital and lazar house inclined them to the study of sickness in all its forms and, therefore, of medicine, and caused them to have an interest in the practical rather than in the speculative sciences. As missioners, they were anxious to discover what would best appeal to the religious emotions of the people, and were more solicitous to kindle zeal than to reproduce antiquity. It is not therefore surprising to find that the severe theologians who attempted to answer all possible objections were Dominicans, and the advocates of such innovations of belief, like that of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, Franciscans. Nor was it unnatural that the Order of St. Francis should produce the pioneer of modern science in Friar Roger Bacon.

In the thirteenth century the typical Franciscan doctors were Alexander of Hales, Bonaventura, and Duns Scotus, and the leading Dominican scholars were Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas. It is noteworthy that two of the Franciscans were of British birth; of the others named, Bonaventura and Aquinas were Italians, and Albert the Great a German. The main scenes of their activities were Paris, Oxford, and Cologne.

The text books of the Schools were called *Summæ*, or Compendiums of Theology. Such a work was Abélard's *Sic et Non*, in which he puts the opposite opinions of the Fathers parallel to one another. There were many similar books but the most famous was the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard. This, the handbook for the "Masters" who taught in the schools, is in four books. The *first* is "The object of our happiness, God; The *second* means of attaining this happiness, Creatures; the *third*, Virtues, Men and Angels, that is the special means of happiness, and subjects of happiness. The *topic* of these three books is things (*res*), that of the fourth is signs (*signa*), i.e., the sacraments." The object of this and like works was to state Christian doctrine in a clear and logical form so as to prove a starting point for philosophical teaching. The Scholasticism of the thirteenth century may be described as *Summæ* plus Aristotle. Peter Lombard lived before the recovery of Aristotle; and the first of the new scholastics was an Englishman, Alexander of Hales, who taught in Paris in about 1220. In 1221 he entered the Franciscan Order and died in 1247. He was known as the "Irrefrangible Doctor" and his great work was a *Summa Universæ Theologiæ*. He was the first to give the impulse in the direction of the Aristotelian philosophy and his disciples were the great schoolmen of the century. He is specially noteworthy for the use he makes of Aristotle's *Ethics* in his moral teaching.

Alexander of Hales was followed by an even more famous Franciscan—Bonaventura, the biographer of St. Francis, known as the "Seraphic Doctor." He was born before the death of the Saint and is said to have been brought to him to be healed when a little child. Bonaventura seems to have been a

versatile man, capable of profound enquiry, mystical piety, and administrative power. He was the seventh General of the Franciscan order and his work in this capacity may have drawn him aside somewhat more than some of his contemporaries from his studies. The year before his death at the Council of Lyons he was made Cardinal Bishop of Albano.

The discussion of the philosophy of Bonaventura belongs properly to a philosophical work; here it is sufficient merely to indicate the general trend of his mind. Of it, one may perhaps say that philosophy is subordinate to theology, and theology to the desire for mystical communion with God. The highest light is Scripture, the sacraments are the true remedy for the soul, all knowledge should minister to the thought of God and man's relationship to him. Herein lies the whole purport of scholasticism. Theology is the queen of the sciences, the end of all knowledge being God. Thus far it differs in no respect from all which bears the name of Platonism, the object of which is directed to the Supreme Being, the Idea of Ideas. Natural science is consequently only of secondary importance if it ministers to mere utility, or to the comfort and convenience of the human race. Astronomy, for example, is not primarily intended to aid us in navigating ships, or forecasting the seasons but to raise our minds to the contemplation of Eternal Truths. Christian philosophy differs from that of the ancients in so far as it assumes a revelation which places the Truth within our reach. The believer has in Scriptures, in the Sacraments, and in the Church a means of access to God. He possesses a body of irrefrangible truth, and it is the duty of reason to align itself with this divine knowledge. The possession of Aristotle's physical and other treatises hindered rather than helped forward scientific study, in so far that the philosopher believed that he possessed sufficient knowledge of the visible world, and could press forward unimpeded to the contemplation of invisible realities.

The next step, therefore, was to do for secular and divine knowledge what had already been done for the Civil and Canon Law, to codify, to arrange and to explain them so that

in future mankind, being in possession of all that was necessary for the one important thing, eternal salvation, might set its mind at rest. This was attempted and in a certain degree accomplished by the two famous Dominicans, Albert of Bollstadt, surnamed "the Great," and Thomas Aquinas, the "Angelic Doctor."

Albert, Count of Bollstadt in Suabia, is one of those intellectual giants who are the glory of Germany. He was born about 1193 and died in 1280. He taught first at Cologne and afterwards at Paris, till he was sent back to Cologne to establish a school there. For two years, 1260–62, he held the see of Regensburg, but insisted on resigning to return to his studies. His immense knowledge covered the entire field of human science. He set out to place before the men of his age the sum of the teaching of Aristotle and his Arabian commentators. How far Albert was an original thinker, or the greatest of compilers is open to dispute; but the extent of his knowledge is undeniable. He explored the field of natural science; but, though he is tainted with the credulity of the ancients on matters which could have been tested by experiment, he must not be hastily condemned. He has been claimed to be the first since Theophrastus, the contemporary of Aristotle, who made a truly scientific study of plants. Nor was he content to believe that Aristotle had said the last word. Like Bacon, he admitted that much remained to be discovered, and acknowledged that experiments must be repeated to prove a demonstration. The last volume of Albert's works is devoted to the glories of Mary. Here boundless devotion is shown to the Virgin Mother of the Lord, and her wonders are recorded and accepted with reverent credulity. The deeply religious feeling of Albert and his age here manifests itself. His undoubted piety towards the Virgin secured his more secular studies from all reproach of a desire for mere worldly knowledge.

The glory of Albert is eclipsed by that of Aquinas, who is still supposed by many to have said the last word on the theology of the Church. His *Summa Theologiæ* has been well described as "the supreme achievement of scholastic theology;

indeed as a reasoned exposition of the whole body of Catholic doctrine it has never been equalled." In our own age this has been declared by the highest ecclesiastical authority. And if the Christian revelation is final and complete, if here, at least, man has nothing to do but assimilate its teaching through the Church, Thomas occupies an unassailable position. For his system is the appeal of one of the acutest of human minds to the intellect, though he admits that there is a knowledge of God unattainable by man save by revelation. Every statement is subjected to the test of reason, all possible objections are raised and met. Medieval doctrine is set forth with perfect clearness and order, and in this way those who refuse to hear the Church are deliberate sinners against the light of reason. Heresy therefore is not only the worst of sins, it is the height of folly. All, and more than all, which St. Dominic can have dreamed of St. Thomas accomplished. He is truly the Atlas which supports the globe of Catholic dogma to this day.

The Franciscan Order produced a rival to the great Dominican in Duns Scotus. Though his nationality is disputed, he was certainly educated at Oxford and taught in Paris and Cologne. The Franciscans had a greater success in England than the Dominicans, partly no doubt because their lives seemed more practical, but also on account of the singular freedom of the island from heresy. This made the Dominican message less necessary to the country because there were no heretics to convert. Scotus attributes far less importance to the intellect and more to the will than Aquinas, nor does he favour the idea that God's supremacy involves the acceptance of a doctrine of predestination. His followers, "the Scotists," were at constant war with those of Aquinas, "the Thomists," and their disputes long agitated the schools. Duns Scotus is remarkable for the crabbed character of his vocabulary and style.

But there yet remains a Franciscan, an enigma in his own time, and a wonder to all succeeding ages. The immense erudition of Germany finds a typical representative in the Blessed Albert the Great, as does the clear luminous Italian mind in

St. Thomas Aquinas. The practical character of the English intellect is revealed in a man, less honoured by the Church, but more in the modern world, Friar Roger Bacon. Orthodox in opinion, sharing in the piety of his age, he was nevertheless in the true sense a pioneer, and suffered during his long life in consequence. He studied at Oxford under one of the most remarkable of his countrymen, Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, for whom he had an unbounded admiration as the one man who knew all the sciences. As a matter of course he was also at Paris, where he obtained the degree of Doctor. He must have joined the Franciscans late in life, as he says that he spent immense sums of money on prosecuting his studies, in purchasing books, making experiments and buying instruments. In twenty years he expended no less than two thousand pounds on his researches. The motives which led him to join the order are unknown,—probably genuine devotion, for Bacon was a deeply religious man—but in doing so he sacrificed his fortune, which he might have spent on acquiring knowledge, and his liberty. In all probability as a Dominican he would have been the glory of his order, but the Franciscans had little use for so restless and enquiring a mind. Bacon believed as firmly as his namesake three centuries later in the infinite possibility of science; but this was not his chief offence in his own age. Boldly he attacked the methods of his day and exposed what seemed to him the fraudulent pretentiousness of its knowledge, its reliance on the authority of secondary evidence, its refusal to go to the sources, its neglect of foreign languages, its skill in covering ignorance by verbiage, its foolish questioning about subjects of which nothing can be known, such as the nature and properties of angels.

As a result Bacon was constantly disciplined, and spent much of his later days in prison. Pope Clement IV (1265–1268) took a great interest in his discoveries and wrote to him; but his reign was too short and too occupied to be of much aid to the philosopher. But it must be borne in mind that in the thirteenth century, though the spirit of intolerance prevailed, Bacon's troubles were due to his being a Franciscan

friar, and not to his speculations, theories or even to his denunciation of the scholars of the time. The very fact that Aristotelian and Arabian learning was accepted by men like Hales, Bonaventura, and Aquinas, shows that in the schools, at least, much freedom was enjoyed; and as a rule provided men did not try to disturb the existing order of society, they were tolerated and even encouraged by those in authority in the Church.

But theology and philosophy were not the only studies of the Middle Ages. The highly placed clergy, and especially the Popes, numbered in their ranks men who were trained lawyers of great ability. The Normans especially took to the law as naturally as did the ancient Romans. The thirteenth century was an age of legists throughout Christendom. The necessities of the time compelled rulers to consider their exact legal position in regard to one another and especially as to their rights in the face of the claims of the Papacy.

There were two great masses of Law: Civil Law of the Roman Empire and the Canon Law of the Church. In the great contest between the Emperors and the Popes, these Laws also rivalled one another, as the rights of the Empire were being opposed to those of the Church. Hence the lawyers were busily engaged in glossing and explaining the Civil Law or in reducing that of the Church to a formal code. In a sense the work of the jurisconsults of this period was similar to that of the Masters of the schools in theology and philosophy. Both were trying to settle the whole question by a scholastic *Summa* or a legal Digest.

Though the study of Roman Law had never completely died out, and it had superseded the barbarian laws under which the invaders of Italy had formerly lived, it revived in Bologna early in the twelfth century with the lectures of Irnerius. Henceforward Bologna became the centre of legal instruction, not only in Civil, but also in Canon Law. In the middle of the century Gratian, a monk, produced his *Decretum*, a Code of the Laws of the Church, divided into three parts. The first, the canons of Councils, decrees of Popes, and opin-

ions of the Fathers; the second, ecclesiastical judgments; the third, rites and ceremonies. The work was completed in 1234 by Gregory IX, who entrusted it to Raymond of Pennaforte, a Spaniard. This Pope may be regarded as the Justinian of the Church, and it is significant that his *Decretals* appeared whilst he was, during an interval of peace, preparing for his death struggle with Frederic II.

The enthusiasm with which the clergy betook themselves to the study, not only of the Canon but also of the Civil Law, alarmed the ecclesiastical authorities. The practice of both was so lucrative, that it attracted many young men of ability to the detriment of purely theological study. Honorius III in 1219 interdicted the teaching of Civil Law in the growing university of Paris. But no papal decree could stay the tide in this direction. Not only in Italy and the Empire, where the rivalry between State and Church was acute, but also in England and France great lawyers, whether in Canon or Civil procedure, or both, were arising. The Laws of England were written upon by Bracton, and in the struggle early in the fourteenth century between Philip the Fair and the Papacy, the lawyers played a prominent part. Theology, and the philosophy of Greece, Canon Law, and the legislation of Rome, were the studies of medieval Europe.

The study of medicine revived before those of Theology or Law, the earliest school being that of Salerno in southern Italy, which appears in the eleventh century. The pursuit of this science received a considerable impulse by contact with Jewish and Arabian practitioners.

The new learning was rather prejudicial to literature than otherwise. The twelfth century could boast of real scholars, like the Englishman John of Salisbury; but the philosophy of the next generation tended to depress the reviving classicism of an earlier age. In fact in scholasticism we see science choking literature. In the name of precision, the philosophers, as they have frequently done since, robbed language of its beauty by the invention of a hideous jargon of technicalities; and in their endeavour to say what they meant, employed a

phraseology which no reasonable person could understand. The age was certainly one of intellectual revival; but in no sense was it a classical one.

The activity of the Scholastics and of the Friars appears in the growing universities which formed so marked a feature in European life. The word *University*, however, was not used in its modern sense. In writing to a community, the expression *universitas vestra* means "all of you"; *universitas juris* is the equivalent for "all a person's legal responsibilities and rights." The term is also applied to a guild or college of any description, especially that of tradesmen, as *Universitas pistorum*, "the guild of bakers." It was only late that it was applied to institutions of learning, and then not in the sense of including all knowledge in its curriculum, but of allowing men of all nations to study at a particular place. The old expression was *Studium generale*, a school open to the world.

There was nothing formal in the beginning of a university. It was the creation of circumstances, not of any deliberate plan. Rich men did not found universities, as they did monasteries, with lavish endowments. As a rule their origin was democratic. Sometimes the students formed the society, and the teachers were their hired servants. At others the university's nucleus was a guild of teachers. Their progress towards official recognition was gradual.

The parents of the northern universities were the monastic schools, at which men like William of Champeaux and his rival Abélard had taught; and these appear in the time of Charles the Great. In Italy, however, it was in the cities that education revived and this was mainly directed towards the legal study. Probably no invasion of barbarians succeeded in entirely destroying the old municipal spirit of the towns of Northern Italy, and its tradition was derived from the days when the Roman Law prevailed. The old legend that the Code of Justinian had been rescued in a single copy, when Amalfi was captured in 1135, has long been rejected; and it is tolerably certain that the knowledge of Roman Law had never entirely disappeared in Italy, and that it was taught in

Schools in cities like Pavia, Ravenna, and Rome. Bologna, however, early attained a peculiar preëminence as an educational centre, particularly in the Civil Law. But the Canon Law was also studied, and the representatives of the two in the twelfth century are the Civilian, Irnerius, and the Canonist, Gratian. According to a tradition, which made the Countess Matilda the foundress of the schools of Bologna, their eighth centenary was observed in 1888. There is a charter in 1158 of Frederic Barbarossa recognizing the student class in Lombardy, and so, in a sense, in Bologna. As a matter of fact, however, the institution was more spontaneous in its origin and growth. Students from different parts of the world assembled there. For protection, which non-citizens were wholly or partially denied, these organized themselves into national *Universities* or guilds, appointed their own officers styled "Rectors," hired professors, probably natives, to instruct them, but permitted them to have no control over their arrangements, indeed it was the students who fined and punished the professors, and not *vice versa*. A university of this description, so strange to us, was not in any way clerical or theological; but this must not mislead the reader of thinking in modern terms. There was nothing anti-clerical in the sense implying jealousy of church interference. The *Universitas* which the students formed was just as much a guild as that of any trade or occupation. Nor did the study of Law in Italy imply anything less ecclesiastical than that of Theology in Paris. When the rights of the Empire were in conflict with those of the Papacy, Law was in fact just as likely to arouse controversy in the Church as questions in Theology, and every dispute involved an appeal to the Civil and to the Canon Law.

Very different was the origin of the great representative school of Paris which overshadowed all other seats of learning in northern Europe. It was to Paris in the days of Abélard and William of Champeaux that scholars flocked to hear the rival teachers under the shadow of the Cathedral of Notre Dame. But in those days there was no system nor discipline, and the proceedings were marked by a complete absence of

formality. Still the nucleus of a university in our sense of the term was already in existence, and the system gradually unfolded itself. The process was two-fold: on the one hand there was the recognition of the teachers or masters; on the other the organization of the students. It became evident that unauthorised teachers could not be allowed to hold classes, hence the necessity of recognising those who had passed through a qualifying course of study. This took the form of a degree, which not only gave a man a right to teach, but also laid on him the obligation to do so. The Masters tended to form a corporation of their own, and to admit others to their rights and privileges. As to the scholars, they came from all countries and naturally grouped themselves according to their nationalities. At Paris in the thirteenth century four nations were recognised, the French, the Normans, the Picards, and the English. Each nation had its representative or "Proctor." Over the four a "Rector" ultimately presided. Paris differed from Bologna in being a more distinctly clerical institution under the Bishop, and the Chancellor of the Cathedral. It also discouraged the study of Law and upheld that of Theology, which in the eyes of the Popes was the more dangerous, as likely to produce heresy.

Oxford, the second northern university of importance, was, despite its claim to great antiquity, probably an offshoot of Paris. The city of Oxford was not only neither a capital nor an episcopal see; it had not even a great monastery to form the nucleus of a school like that of St. Denys near Paris. The town owed its importance to its position as a political and commercial centre, and is seldom mentioned before the eleventh century, when it became a frequent meeting place of councils, lay and ecclesiastical. It seems also to have been a home of learning, as it is connected with the lectures on the Civil Law by Vacarius in 1149, during the reign of Stephen, and with the name of the learned Robert Pullen, the first English Cardinal. It has been conjectured that the University was an offshoot from Paris, due to the troubles of 1167 when Archbishop Thomas Becket was in exile in France, and Henry II had re-

called all English clerks, among whom would be included the students in Paris.

About 1184 Giraldus Cambrensis, the Welsh traveller and historian, visited Oxford "where the clergy excel in clerkship" and read his *Topography of Ireland* before the assembled Masters and Scholars, devoting three days to the lecture, and on each day giving a meal to the university or town. The diocese in which Oxford was situated was Lincoln, and, as the Bishop lived far away, he appointed a Chancellor to look after the University. Apparently there was no such official till 1214. But though the Bishops of Lincoln always acted by deputy, one of them was an early patron of Oxford. This was Robert Grosseteste, one of the most renowned scholars of his day, who played so important a part in the country during the troubles of Henry III's reign, and was a most enthusiastic supporter of the Franciscans. Like Paris, the University was divided between nations, though here there were but two, the Boreales (Northerners), including Scots, and the Australes (Southerners), including the Welsh and Irish. Their representatives were the Proctors, of which at Oxford there were but two.

One University gave birth to others by migrations. Owing to various causes the students would leave the town from time to time. Thus, it has been suggested, Paris gave birth to Oxford, as Oxford probably did to Cambridge. The origin of this last University is, however, so obscure that it is difficult to do more than surmise. The position of the town was important as a military stronghold commanding the famous bridge which was the key of access to East Anglia. Surrounded by gloomy fen and marsh on one side it was accessible on the West from most parts of England, and was not far from some of the greatest of the Benedictine Houses such as Ely and Ramsey. It resembled Oxford in not having any large religious houses within its precincts. The Schools there are implied in a charter in the second year of Henry III (1218). If, at any earlier time, Oxford scholars migrated thither, this was following the precedents of other Universities where the students

and Masters, finding the townspeople too exacting, or the authorities oppressive, departed and set up a place for their studies elsewhere. Thus we have the two famous migrations, in 1263 from Oxford to Northampton, and in 1334 to Stamford. This is of itself sufficient to show how loose the connection between the towns and Universities was; for the same happened at Bologna.

Permanence was given to the Universities, notably Paris, Oxford, and Cambridge, by the establishment of institutions for the accommodation of students. The collegiate system, which still exists in the English universities, was not part of the original conception but came into being during the thirteenth century.

When a city was invaded by hordes of students from all parts of the world the natural problem was to find them lodgings. The townsfolk were grasping, and the young men riotous and impecunious. In Paris there were said in the thirteenth century to be as many as thirty thousand students at a time. Some combined to hire houses in common, and officials were appointed to see that they received proper treatment as to the price charged; gradually institutions were established for the use of poor scholars, where they could be lodged and fed, and these ultimately became colleges.

The thirteenth century also witnessed the establishment of colleges in both English Universities. University and Balliol at Oxford both belong to this age, as does Peterhouse at Cambridge, founded by Hugh de Balsham, Bishop of Ely in 1284. But the most interesting of these collegiate establishments, on account of its plan and intention, was Merton College, Oxford, the creation of Walter de Merton, afterwards Bishop of Rochester. In about 1263 he made over his Manor House and estate of Malden in Surrey to a community of scholars. It was intended mainly for the benefit of his family; but by 1270 his ideas had expanded, land had been acquired in Oxford and a regular college established. It was to be a secular as opposed to the monastic establishments then rising in the place, and none of its members were to be *religious men*, i.e., monks or friars.

In Walter's statutes there are all the features of a modern college. A Warden, who is to be elected by the thirteen Senior Fellows, a Society of Fellows, who are to continue till they obtain a benefice of sufficient value, estates administered in the name of the Warden, Fellows and Scholars, Scholars of an inferior rank *portionari* (Postmasters). It is remarkable—perhaps it is due to Walter de Merton's foresight—that, whereas several colleges in the University of Paris disappeared earlier, and all were swept away by the French Revolution, all the English colleges have survived and still continue to flourish.

The Friars established themselves in the Universities and obtained enormous influence but not without much opposition. Matthew Paris, the English historian, notices how rapidly the orders degenerated, more in twenty-four years than the older ones in four centuries. In Paris the struggle was very bitter against the Mendicants. Headed by William St. Amour the Masters did all in their power to exclude the Friars but in vain. They were regarded as too useful to the papal cause and their right to teach in Paris was confirmed by the Bull of Alexander IV, *Quasi lignum vitæ*. They were especially unpopular because of their zeal for proselytising among the young, as well as for their invasion of the rights and duties of the parochial clergy.

The most permanent contribution of the thirteenth century was the Universities of Europe, institutions which had no real counterpart in antiquity, and have become the recognised centres of the higher education of today. Amid constant changes the system that is common to these institutions has persisted. Degrees, Examinations, Faculties, Lectures are to be found throughout the world, and few and bold indeed are those who question their utility. As yet, say in 1300, there were but few Universities—three in France, Paris, Toulouse, Montpelier—seven in Italy, some, like Padua, offshoots from Bologna, two in England—but these were destined to have a growing influence on thought and to exercise more authority of the Church itself. But here it is necessary to leave the University

in its infancy. The seed had been sown and was already bearing fruit.

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CHAPTER X

THE PAPACY AND THE HOUSE OF HOHENSTAUFEN

Italian and German antagonism — The Papacy anti-national — Matilda's bequest — Guelfs and Ghibellines — The Sicilies — Papal claims — German arrogance — Frederic Barbarossa — Hadrian IV — Rome under interdict — Character of Hadrian — Alexander III — The Lombard League — Death of Frederic I — Henry VI marries Constance — Innocent III — Frederic II the ward of the Papacy — Philip and Otto — Frederic II — Honorius III — Gregory IX — Frederic II's Crusade — Nine years' peace between Frederic and the Papacy — Frederic's victories in Lombardy — Second excommunication — Innocent IV — Frederic deposed at Lyons — Guelfs and Ghibellines in Lombardy — Manfred — Interregnum in the Empire — The French popes — Charles of Anjou — Charles in Rome — Defeat of Manfred at Benevento — Battle of Tagliacozzo — Sicilian Vespers — Wanderings of the Popes — Failure of the Hohenstaufens — France and the Popes — Former greatness of the Emperor — German resentment against Italy — Teutonic Order — Collapse of Latin Christianity in the East — England alienated — Not a war of religion between Popes and Hohenstaufens — Ruin of Sicily.

As was shown in the account of the Crusades there are in Europe impulses which manifest themselves in different forms throughout successive ages, and yet are fundamentally the same. One of these is the latent hostility between the inhabitants of Italy and the Teutonic races beyond the Alps. From the earliest days the Germanic peoples have been trying to gain an access to the Mediterranean by occupying the peninsula, and have failed because of their inability to understand the genius of the Italians. In addition to this the Teutons have had to cope with the inextinguishable memory of the Romans that their city was, and ought still to be, the capital of the world. Nor was it the Papacy alone in the Middle Ages which upheld this idea. The people desired the preeminence of their city as keenly as the clergy. Though Rome might be poor, turbulent, uncivilized, at times almost forsaken, though her armies were scattered like chaff by the iron troops of the north, the Roman still clung to the idea that he was the natural master of the world. A German might be the greatest potentate in Europe,

he might be called Cæsar and Augustus, he might be in theory regarded as the true God-given ruler of Christendom, but he was never able to make Rome for any long period even a place of residence. Almost every imperial coronation was the occasion of a serious riot, and the new Augustus had to leave the city with all speed. The climate also came to the rescue of the Romans; for however vast and victorious a German force might be, it was sure to succumb before the fatal fevers of the neighbourhood of Rome.

The Papacy represented the national feelings of the Romans in its antagonism to any Teutonic people established in Italy. It had eagerly embraced the help of the Byzantines against the Ostrogoths in the sixth century, and uniformly stood by the Empire against the Lombards in the seventh. In the eighth century the Popes had called in the Franks because the Byzantines could not defend them against the Lombards and had taken part in restoring the Empire of the West by crowning Charles. In the tenth century the three Ottos had tried to restore the dignity of the Empire, and in the eleventh, the Franconian dynasty had purified the Papacy by putting in good and devout German popes only to find themselves engaged in the furious struggle with Henry IV and Henry V about investitures. When this had been settled by a not unreasonable compromise, the Empire made a bold bid for supremacy not only in Germany and Italy but in the Western world.

In the desperate struggle which ensued, despite the pious admonitions of the successive pontiffs and the fact that so to speak the air thundered and their arrows, in the form of excommunications, went abroad, the aim of both parties was secular and the success of the papal policy was mainly due to its being on the side of Italian independence.

Since the time of Charles the Great northern Italy had been mainly divided into imperial and papal territories. By the donation of Pippin the Popes claimed all south of a line drawn from Luna to Monte Salice. But this claim was not admitted, perhaps not even seriously made, the fact being that generally

neither the papal, nor even the imperial suzerainty over northern Italy was effective. After their expeditions into Italy the different Emperors left their territories entrusted to vassals who governed them almost independently.

The greatest of the imperial feudatories in the eleventh century were the counts of Tuscany, represented during the long struggle over Investitures, by the famous Countess Matilda, the supporter of the Papacy against the Empire. At her death in 1115 she bequeathed her dominions to the Pope; and these, known as the *terra Mathildis*, became a fertile cause of dispute.

The twelfth century witnessed the rise of numbers of cities, all anxious to throw off the yoke of the Emperor and his feudal nobles, and prepared to put up a stubborn resistance in support of their liberties. Thus there arose two parties in Italy, the papal and the imperial, known respectively as Guelf and Ghibelline. Each supported the divine authority exercised by its leader, the Guelf maintaining that God had set Pope over Emperor, and the Ghibelline the opposite. But under claims supported by the Scripture and the tradition of the Church, principles profoundly political were involved; and the contest was actually one between native and Germanic influence in Italy. The papal party was weak in material force; for the Italian was no match for the German as a soldier. On the other hand the Empire was disunited, many of its most powerful princes were ecclesiastics, and no German army could long endure the climate of Italy.

Southern Italy and Sicily presented a different problem. It had long been the prey of some foreign power. In the eighth century the Byzantines and Lombards held it, then the Saracens occupied the land, finally the Normans overshadowed both Saracens and Byzantines. The influence of the Normans was decisive in the struggle about investitures, and the Popes realised that their security depended greatly on who occupied the lands south of Rome. From henceforward it became a matter of vital interest what power ruled in the south. The kingdom of the two Sicilies, as it was called, became the pivot

of papal policy and the motive which led the Popes to compass the ruin of the house of Frederic II in the thirteenth century was identical with that which made Pius IX in the nineteenth century regard Garibaldi as his most dreaded enemy. To have Lombardy and the South in the same strong hand was to endanger the crushing of the States of the Church between the upper and the nether millstone.

Another factor in the struggle was the almost incredible claim for supremacy put forth by the Popes during the period. They regarded themselves as set over the nations "to pull down and to plant." Kings were their subjects, their vassals. Their interdicts could paralyse a country. A threat of excommunication could bring the most powerful rulers of Europe to their knees. Intoxicated with power, they made constantly increasing demands and tried the patience, not merely of sovereigns, but of the people and the very clergy of lands which they seemed to regard almost as the private property of the Papacy. They were endangering their spiritual influence with a monarch like Louis IX, who became a canonized saint, and prelates like the English Bishop, Robert Grosseteste of Lincoln, whose learning and piety were the admiration of Christendom.

The German Cæsars were at least equals of the Popes in arrogance, and in their desire to magnify their office. They too strove for world domination, and asserted themselves in a way peculiarly calculated to irritate the Romans, proud of their ancient glories, and the north Italians, conscious of their rapidly developing civilization. A single example will illustrate this. When Frederic Barbarossa entered Rome to be crowned Emperor the envoys of the City addressed him in a pompous speech of welcome extolling the glories of Rome as the mistress of the world. His reply was brutal and insolent in the extreme. "Wilt thou know," he said, "where the ancient glory of thy Rome, the dignified severity of the Senate, the tactics of the camp and invincible military courage have gone? All are found among us Germans: all have been transmitted to us with the Empire . . . thou thyself art still my subject, I am the

rightful owner. Who dares to snatch the club from Hercules? Perhaps the Sicilian on whom thou placest thine hopes. Let the past teach him for the arm of the German is not yet disabled. . . . Wherefore should I not defend the seat of my empire, whose boundaries I am determined to restore. That is shown by Denmark, which has just been subjugated. . . ." These words are put into Frederic's mouth by the German historian Otto of Freising. They reveal the German spirit which made the presence of the nation in Italy insupportable even when they came as deliverers; but there is in them that note of confidence in worldly power, which the old Greeks considered to be the sure precursor of calamity. The struggle between the house of Barbarossa and the Papacy was to result, first in the complete ruin of that powerful dynasty, and then in the shame and degradation of Boniface VIII, the proudest of the medieval Popes.

Frederic Barbarossa succeeded his uncle Conrad III in 1152,[1] when St. Bernard's friend Eugenius III was Pope. The two pontiffs with whom he was brought into contact were Hadrian IV (1154–1159) and Alexander III (1159–1181). It is noteworthy that both of them in their contests with the most powerful of the medieval Emperors met with little or no support from the Roman people, and were compelled to spend most of their time away from the City. The dream of a Roman Republic with the Pope confined to the spiritual duties of his office kept the people in a ferment; and, despite their hatred of the Germans, prevented any coöperation between the civil and ecclesiastical powers. As a rule the combatants were a Pope in exile and a German national hero supported by his people, of whose cause he was regarded as the champion.

The first pontiff with whom Frederic came into contact was Hadrian IV, the only Englishman who was ever Pope, a man of remarkable force of character. The popular story is that as Nicolas Breakspear, he had sought in vain for admission or alms at the gate of the aristocratic Abbey of St. Albans.

[1] Conrad III was the first of the Swabian dynasty, but he was never crowned Emperor.

William of Newbury says he was the son of a priest. Anyhow he left his home and went as a poor student to France and at last became prior of St. Rufus near Arles. Eugenius III made him cardinal-bishop of Albano, and sent him on a diplomatic mission to Norway and on his return he was unanimously elected Pope December 5, 1154. Handsome, cultured, and eloquent, this humble Englishman was a match both for the turbulent Romans and the haughty German.[1]

Hadrian IV found the city leagued against him, under the influence of Arnold of Brescia, the Senate unwilling to recognise his title, himself confined to St. Peter's and the Leonine City, and his only earthly hope the thought that Frederic I, who was in Italy, might come to his rescue. With characteristic courage he struck the first blow by demanding the expulsion of Arnold of Brescia. At the first sign of contumacy on the part of the Romans, he laid the City under an interdict, an unprecedented act of severity. To stop all religious services at Rome threatened the citizens not only with the loss of happiness in heaven but with money on earth; for the flood of pilgrims would soon be dried up. On the fourth day of Holy Week the people rose in an uproar against the Senators and forced them humbly to sue for peace. They promised to banish Arnold, and the Pope was conducted in triumph to the Lateran in time for the Easter celebrations. Frederic now advanced on Rome to receive coronation as Emperor. Hadrian came to meet him, demanding the surrender of Arnold of Brescia whom Frederic readily gave up to papal vengeance. He was less compliant as to the ceremony which required the Emperor elect to hold the Pope's stirrup and walk beside his horse. On this point Hadrian was inflexible and Frederic was obliged to yield. According to the German historians he did so with very bad grace and as has been shown, he certainly offended the civil authorities of Rome by his insolent reply to their address.

The coronation of Frederic I at Rome, June 18, 1155, was typical of the fate of his house. The Romans shut the gates and

[1] It is possible that Hadrian IV's connection with St. Albans in England was surmised by those who knew him as Cardinal of Albano.

he could only occupy the Leonine City and be crowned in St. Peter's, and could not even visit the Lateran basilica. The coronation banquet was interrupted by an attack of the Romans on the German army. After a day's fierce fighting the imperial forces indulged in a savage massacre in which a thousand perished. The newly made Emperor and his army hastily retreated, taking with him the Pope and the cardinals. In July Frederic took leave of Hadrian IV at Tivoli and returned to Germany showing his fury to Italy by laying Spoleto in ashes.

Hadrian IV died at Anagni on September 1, 1159. He had never been able to return to Rome after Frederic's coronation. The one English Pope is a good example of the democratic spirit of the medieval Church, which recognised ability, wherever found, and opened its highest offices to merit. Of humble origin and a foreigner, he had risen by his own efforts to the highest position in the Western world. With no powerful relatives to support him, with the Roman people leagued against him, he held his position against the most powerful Emperor since Charles the Great. When Frederic in a letter placed his name before that of Hadrian, the Pope plainly told him, "In doing so you have incurred a character for insolence, not to say of arrogance." No man, however, was under less delusion about the Papacy than Hadrian. As he told his friend and fellow countryman John of Salisbury, it was the most miserable position on earth. "Servant of servants" is the true title for a Pope, if he were as rich as Crœsus when elected, is sure soon to be poor and in debt, the slave of the boundless avarice of the Romans.

Roland Bandinelli, a Siennese, succeeded Hadrian IV, and took the title of Alexander III. This great man held the See for twenty-two years, till 1181, and during his troubled pontificate supported the independence of the Italian cities against the Emperor. Frederic, having the support of a German party among the cardinals, resorted to the imperial practice of setting up anti-popes. On March 2, 1160, Alexander III excommunicated the Emperor; and in 1161 the Pope was compelled

to take refuge in France. The despotic rule of the Emperor and his representative alienated the Italians, and it is significant that two of the imperial vicars were German Archbishops, Rainald von Darsal of Cologne, the Imperial Chancellor of Italy, and Christian of Mainz, the last named a gallant licentious prince, who, clad in shining armour, mace in hand, smote down his enemies, and solaced himself in peace with the society of fair ladies. The Popes of the twelfth century had neither time nor inclination for such princely pleasures, and maintained a high standard of clerical propriety.

Alexander III remained in France from 1162 to 1165. There the fugitive Pope was received with the highest respect. Louis VII and Henry II of England, rivals in everything, vied to do him honour. In 1163 the Pope held a great council at Tours, at which 17 cardinals, 124 bishops and 440 abbots were present, and his title was unanimously asserted by the excommunication of the Anti-pope and all his adherents. But when across the Alps Alexander III found more tangible support. The Archbishop of Reims raised immense sums of money for his necessities, and the Pope could offer the rebellious Romans the only argument which could appeal to them. With the help of William I, King of Sicily, he was able to return to Rome, disgusted by the brutality of the Germans, under the Archbishop of Mainz; and on St. Cecilia's day (November 23), 1165, the Pope was received with enthusiasm by Senate and people.

But Frederic I's descent into Italy in 1166–1167 again rendered the position of Alexander III untenable. The Roman army was utterly defeated by the Germans in May, 1167; and in July the Leonine City was taken and St. Peter's entered by the brutal soldiery of the Emperor. The Pope escaped in the disguise of a pilgrim; Frederic entered into a treaty with the Romans, and installed the Anti-pope. It seemed as though the German cause in Italy had triumphed. But as so often happened pestilence came to save the city and Frederic with the remnants of his fever-stricken army retired to Germany, leaving the city in August, 1167.

A new factor now made itself felt. Lombardy bore the heavy yoke of Germany with impatience. Its cities were increasing in wealth and prosperity. Their fierce independence, and, above all, their democratic ideals, were antagonistic to the aristocratic prejudices of the German nation. Alexander III threw in his lot with the Lombard League and his name is still perpetuated in a city built at this time as a fortress against Frederic. On May 29, 1176, the Emperor was utterly defeated at Legnano, where the independence of Lombardy was won.

Alexander III died in 1181. Despite the fact that he had spent most of his pontificate of twenty-two years as an exile from Rome, he ranks among the greatest of the Popes. Opposed throughout by the Roman Republic and the Emperor, he held his own and maintained the dignity of his office. In one respect he encountered even greater difficulties than Gregory VII and his successors. They could at least rely on the support of some of the great ecclesiastical feudatories of the Empire, whereas Frederic I and his house had all Germany behind them. On the other hand, in Alexander III's time a new Italian feeling had been aroused by the rise of the city states and these supported the Pope as standing for Italy. The one exception was Rome, which despite its high sounding pretensions displayed few virtues worthy of its ancient fame.

The Popes from Alexander III (d. 1181) and the accession of Innocent III (1198) had but short reigns, and the period is marked by the growth of the power of the house of Hohenstaufen. Frederic Barbarossa led an immense army to Palestine through Asia Minor. Had he succeeded in this crusade, he would have perhaps dominated the Western world; but he lost his life drowned in a river on June 10, 1190, and is still regarded as one of the heroes of the German nation.

The marriage of his son Henry VI increased the power of the dynasty. The Kingdom of Sicily, which included southern Italy, had been for a century the most civilized and best governed in the world. The line of Norman sovereigns who had ruled a very mixed population with singular wisdom, ceased with William II, leaving his aunt Constance as his sole heiress.

Her kingdom was a fief of the Holy See, and it was all important to the Pope that it should not fall into the hands of a German Emperor. Nevertheless William II and Frederic Barbarossa were agreed that Henry, the son of the Emperor, should marry Constance and receive her splendid inheritance. The marriage took place in 1186; and by it Henry VI became Emperor and King of Sicily.

Henry VI's marriage with Constance was the cause of his house rising to an unprecedented pitch of glory, and of its ultimate ruin. The acquisition of Sicily made the Empire all powerful in Europe and gave it a prospect of gaining the mastery of the East and its commerce. Its supremacy meant that the Papacy would be reduced to the political insignificance of a German archbishopric, and that the most the Pope could hope to be was the principal feudal prince in the Empire. It was therefore a matter of life and death to the Popes to prevent such a catastrophe, as they were determined never to go back to the position from which Hildebrand and his friends had freed them. In Henry VI was soon revealed an able and ambitious ruler, and a ruthless tyrant, nor was there a pope of commanding influence to resist him. It seemed as though the triumph of the Empire was assured and that Italy would soon become a German province. The Sicilians set up Tancred, an illegitimate scion of the Norman house, but he died in 1194. Henry then crushed the Sicilians with merciless severity, almost exterminated the royal house and devastated the land. He died, however, at the age of thirty-two, in September, 1197, leaving a young child, destined to become the Emperor Frederic II, as his heir under the guardianship of his mother Constance. The Pope, Celestine III, died in the following January. The year 1198 was notable for the election of a cardinal of noble birth, and in the full vigour of manhood. Lothar, who took the title of Innocent III, was a member of the House of Conti and was only thirty-seven when he was unanimously selected for the Papal throne. Young, rich, learned in the law, with a high reputation for sanctity, he entered upon a reign of eighteen years with the fairest prospects and was destined

to prove himself in character and ability one of the greatest Pontiffs in history.

Henry VI had committed the care of his son Frederic to the protection of Celestine III, to whom he owed feudal homage for his kingdom of Sicily and its Italian possessions. But the Empire was not hereditary, and the German princes elected Philip of Swabia, the brother of the late Emperor. In the same year Constance died, leaving Frederic to the care of Innocent III. Thus the Pope became the support of the direct line of the Hohenstaufens against any possible usurpation on the part of the boy's uncle, the newly elected Emperor Philip. Already, however, Philip was an enemy to the Papacy owing to his determination to uphold his brother's rights in Northern Italy against the Tuscan league formed with the support of the Pope in 1197, against Henry VI. Innocent III from the day of his accession had been labouring to restore the territory of the Roman See and to claim the lands which Matilda of Tuscany had bequeathed to it.

Philip and the Hohenstaufens had other enemies besides the Pope and the Guelf cities of Italy. England and France were alarmed at the growing strength of the House and supported a rival candidate for the Empire in Otto, the son of Henry "the Lion," whose mother was Matilda, daughter of King Henry II of England. A party in Germany supported Otto against Philip, and proclaimed him King of the Romans. Innocent III at once espoused the cause of Otto IV, whose family were hereditary foes of the Hohenstaufens, and conspicuous for their devotion to the Papacy.

Germany thus became the scene of a long civil war between the two claimants and Philip proved decidedly the stronger. At last Innocent III was forced to abandon Otto, and recognise Philip, who, however, was assassinated at Bamberg on June 21, 1208, by Otto of Wittelsbach. The Pope immediately acknowledged Otto IV; and in 1209 he was crowned at Rome as Emperor.

It soon became manifest that no emperor could be in Italy and remain on friendly terms with the Roman See.

Otto IV was deposed and excommunicated, and Frederic II was summoned from Sicily to Germany; and with the consent of Innocent III, was elected King of the Romans in December, 1212. In 1214 Otto IV, in alliance with King John of England, was utterly defeated by the French King Philip Augustus at Bovines; and on July 25, 1215, Frederic II was crowned King at Aachen. Innocent III died in June, 1216.

The youth who had now recovered the inheritance of his father is one of the most interesting figures in history. A statesman and a soldier, brilliant in all he undertook, a linguist, a scholar and a poet, he is a fit representative of German royalty in a century of great men. But his favourite home was his native Sicily, from whence he legislated, founded schools of learning, and surrounded himself with the most polished court of his age. As one who had been a ward of the Holy See, Frederic II professed unbounded loyalty to the Church, and his laws, wise and humane and far in advance of his age in all other respects, were ruthless against heresy. Yet he was destined to engage in a long struggle with the Papacy which was to end, not only in the utter ruin of his house, but of the influence of the Germanic Roman Empire and ultimately in that of the Papacy which had brought low the family of Hohenstaufen.

In a sense the struggle was inevitable. The immense claims of the Popes to world domination necessitated absolute freedom from secular control and they were being hemmed in as the German power in Lombardy and Sicily increased under the able rule of Frederic II. Thus the Popes, though unable to hold their own in their own city, undertook to break the power of the Emperor. In one respect, however, the success of the Roman See was not like that attained in the days of Gregory VII; and the war was less one of excommunications and interdicts than of skilful political combinations.

Honorius III, the successor of Innocent III, was an aged man who pursued a conciliatory and cautious policy towards Frederic, but a plausible excuse was found for compassing the ruin of the Emperor, or, at least, for so far weakening his position at home as to make him no longer a danger to the

Papal authority. There was an imperative need for a crusade in Egypt or Palestine, if the Christians were to keep any footing in the Holy Land. But the days of Peter the Hermit were long gone by, and the princes of Europe preferred to talk about a Crusade than to risk their dominions in undertaking the enterprise. Frederic, however, had been made to feel that he was under a deep obligation to the Roman Church for allowing him to ascend the imperial throne, and in token of his gratitude he had taken the cross and pledged himself to go to Palestine. But when it came to fulfilling his obligation he found it impossible to go. In his German and Sicilian dominions he had all he could do to maintain his position. Honorius III remonstrated at the delay, but though he threatened Frederic he did nothing, and perhaps in his heart realised that the Emperor was doing his best to arrange for the expedition, but was hindered by his troubles in Italy. Still before this Pope's death the breach was manifestly widening. There were disputes about episcopal investiture in Sicily; and Frederic II, through his wife Iolanthe, had laid claim to the title of King of Jerusalem, and her father, John de Brienne, had complained to the Pope and had been received with favour. All was ready for the explosion when Honorius III died on March 18, 1227, and was succeeded on the following day by the Cardinal-bishop of Ostia, Ugolino, as Gregory IX.

Great disappointment was felt in some quarters that so aged a man had been chosen at this crisis. Gregory IX must have been over eighty when elected. But throughout his pontificate of fourteen years he showed no signs of senility, but proved a most active, able and vindictive enemy of the Emperor.

Gregory IX at once summoned the princes of Europe to a Crusade and Frederic II actually started in September, 1226; but in the course of a few days he put back and landed at Otranto. Transported with fury the Pope excommunicated the Emperor. Nearly a year of manifestos from both sides followed; Frederic succeeded in winning over the Romans who drove Gregory out of Rome. At last, on June 28, 1228, the Emperor started amid the curses of the Church to the Holy

Land. His success was very remarkable. Though the churchmen regarded him as an excommunicated person, and the military orders refused to act under his command, Frederic II's unrivalled knowledge of the Mohammedans enabled him to turn the situation to his advantage and secure Jerusalem to the Christians by treaty with the Sultan Kameel of Egypt. This only increased the rage of the papal party, and Gregory IX busily stirred up revolts against Frederic in Germany, Apulia and throughout his dominions. Frederic returned to Italy in 1229, and sent an embassy to the Pope, of whom Herman of Salza, Master of the Teutonic order, was one. The only result was a second excommunication in which the name of the Emperor was coupled with the Arnoldists, Cathari, and the Poor Men of Lyons, the most detested heretics of the age.

The value of the Friars to the Papacy during its struggle with Frederic II was conspicuous. They became a veritable army of preachers denouncing him both in the Holy Land and in every country of Europe. Their unbounded popularity, then at its height, made them truly formidable foes. But even these could not completely win public opinion to the side of the Pope. The Germans were on the whole loyal to their King: it was felt that there was something unchristian in the intense animosity of the Pope; and his attempt to levy a tenth on the clergy to continue the struggle, made many earnestly question whether it was really one for the Gospel or for the personal ambition of the Roman See. Gregory IX was forced to listen to proposals of peace and a treaty was made with the Emperor at St. Germano on June 14, 1230.

Thus ended the first act of the tragic dispute and a peace of nearly nine years, from September, 1230, to Palm Sunday, 1239, Frederic II was free from the ban of the Church.

The position of Frederic II in Italy during this period may be compared with that of the great Lombard King Liutprand in the eighth century. Do what he might for the Church, the Papacy still in its heart regarded him as *nefandissimus*, to be thrust out on the first possible occasion.

The nine years of peace passed amid tokens of outward amity and inward distrust on the part of Emperor and Pope. Each was necessary to the other, as Frederic II could not afford to fall under the ban of the Church and Gregory IX needed support against the Romans. There was a growing desire to establish a republic, and to make Rome the centre of a city state like Milan and Florence. The Senate repeatedly claimed the Papal States as the property of the City, not the Pope. Frederic II supported the Pope; and, as a usual result, the Roman army suffered a severe defeat. There were the customary reconciliations and recalls of the Papal Court, followed by the banishment of Pope and Cardinals from Rome. But in addition to these domestic troubles Gregory IX was dismayed by the alarming progress of heresy. Here he and the Emperor were in complete accord, and the laws of Frederic II must have been severe enough to satisfy the most exacting critic of his zeal against false doctrine. But the real cause of dispute was the growth of the imperial power in Lombardy, an unpardonable offence in the eyes of the pontiff. Frederic II was fully determined to assert his power within the frontiers of the Empire and advanced against the cities of the Lombard League. On November 23, 1237, he utterly defeated the Milanese at Corte Nuova. Their *carrocio*, or war wagon, the palladium of an Italian City, was captured and sent to Rome. The Lombard cities fought desperately, and the imperial army had to retire before Brescia. Nevertheless Frederic II fully avenged the defeat of his grandfather, and became master of Lombardy. This Gregory IX could not endure, and once more the Emperor was excommunicated.

Frederic II entered the contest without misgivings. He appealed to the Kings of Europe, among them to his brother-in-law, Henry III of England. He put down all symptoms of rebellion among his clergy in Sicily, and he confiscated the property of monasteries and churches opposed to him. In 1240 he advanced into the Papal States and resided at Viterbo, prepared to march against Rome. The Pope summoned a council and a large number of prelates, some from England, as-

sembled at Genoa, where they were embarked to be conveyed to Rome. Frederic II's powerful fleet, aided by the Pisans, defeated the Genoese, and the prelates were captured and taken to Naples. The Romans, however, for a wonder stood by their Pope; for Gregory had received large sums of money from England, then the fief of the Holy See, and thus could pacify the citizens and support the Lombard League. However, the defection of Cardinal John Colonna with the papal forces was a severe blow to Gregory, who found support in the person of the Senator Matthew Rubeus, representative of the rival house of Orsine.

In the summer of 1241 Frederic II and his army were at the gates of Rome. Suddenly, in August, 1241, the news reached him that Gregory IX, now almost a hundred years old, was dead. The invading army withdrew; and the Cardinals chose Celestine IV, who reigned only seventeen days. For two years the chair of St. Peter was vacant till the imprisoned prelates were released, and Sinibald Fieschi of Lavagna, a Genoese, was elected Pope on June 25, 1243. He took the title of Innocent IV. With this pontiff the strife between Pope and Emperor was renewed with fiercer intensity. Before his election the new Pope, a member of a house of Counts of the Empire, had been a friend of Frederic II, who if he had hopes of a reconciliation, had insight to remark that the elevation of a Fieschi had turned a friend into an enemy, as no Pope could possibly be a Ghibelline. At first, however, Frederic did all he could to conciliate the Pope; and negotiations were proceeding when Innocent mounted his horse and rode away to Genoa, where he was received by his own city with the highest honours. Leaving his old home he made his way across the Alps to Lyons.

Lyons, it must be remembered, was not at this time in the kingdom of France, but was a city of the Empire, owning no authority but that of its Archbishop. Innocent IV on arriving found less enthusiasm than had greeted fugitive Popes who in earlier days had crossed the Alps. The Kings of the western world felt that the cause of Frederic II was in

part their own, and had their suspicions that Innocent, in arousing Lombardy against the Emperor, was acting from more worldly motives than his predecessors. Indeed the papal policy, entailing as it did the withdrawals of vast sums of money from France and, especially, from England, to pay for the war with Frederic, was alienating the sympathy of the people once most devoted to its interests. Accordingly when Louis IX of France reached Lyons he treated Innocent with the deference due from a Saint to a persecuted pontiff, and with the wisdom becoming a king of France. The King promised to take counsel with his nobles, and declined the great but costly privilege of having the Pope take up his abode at Reims in his dominions. Nor were Aragon or England desirous to welcome Innocent IV.

On July 17, 1245, the Pope solemnly deposed Frederic from the Empire and ordered the Germans to choose a successor. In vain did the famous lawyer, Thaddeus of Suessa, plead for delay. Innocent accused Frederic of every crime. His luxurious court, his familiarity with Saracen women, his alleged apostasy from the Christian religion were all asserted by the furious Pope. At the end of the ceremony the clergy present extinguished their torches, and left the deposed Emperor to outer darkness.

The war in Lombardy was prosecuted with equally unchristian ferocity on both sides. Guelf and Ghibelline vied with one another in atrocious reprisals. At first Frederic was completely successful, but his victories were stained by the appalling cruelty of such leaders as Ezzelino de Romano. The great reverse of the Emperor was the siege of Parma, where he was thwarted by the Ghibellines in the City and his fortress and camp at Victoria destroyed. This was in 1248; the next year Frederic's beloved son Enzio, King of Sardinia, was taken by the people of Bologna, and languished in prison for twenty-two years. Frederic then retired to Apulia, and in December, 1250, he was taken suddenly ill and died. With him ended the line of the great emperors.

The last act of the tragedy is the determined effort of the

Popes, or rather the Guelfs in Italy, to destroy the house of Frederic root and branch. The quarrel had degenerated into a blood feud. There was hardly any pretence as to the motive. The Pope claimed Sicily and Naples as his property, and repeatedly offered the crown to any prince who would pay for it. Frederic II's son Conrad had to fight for his father's crown. The kingdom was practically during Conrad's absence in Germany in the hands of Manfred, the illegitimate son of the late Emperor. Conrad crossed the Alps after the death of his father with a small force, and finding his position in Lombardy difficult, he sailed from Venice to the south of Italy. Innocent IV in the meantime had offered the Sicilian crown to Richard of Cornwall, brother to Henry III of England, and, on his refusal, to the king's younger son Edmund. But the title was a mere shadow, in return for which Henry III paid large sums to the Pope. Conrad held the kingdom till his death on May 21, 1254, when he left an infant heir Conradin, a child three years old. Innocent IV died in December in the same year. His character showed a great decline from the earlier papal ideal. He displayed few of the great qualities of his famous predecessors, who, at least, fought with a high sense of ecclesiastical liberty. Innocent displayed rather the spirit of a Genoese partisan of the Guelfic interests, and the animosity of the leader of an Italian faction. His extreme rapacity and his disregard of all interest in the church at large, in comparison with his selfish conception of the advantage of the Papacy, roused general disgust. Respect for the supreme see of Christendom was waning, as its complete triumph over its enemy, the house of Hohenstaufen, was being hastened on by death.

The struggle was no longer between Pope and Emperor; for since Frederic II's death Germany was in hopeless confusion, and the barren title of Emperor had been offered to foreigners like Richard of Cornwall and Alfonso of Castile. From the death of William of Holland in 1256 there was an interregnum till 1273. The whole struggle turned on whether the Hohenstaufen should continue to reign at Naples, and whether the Pope had a right to appoint whom he chose to a

kingdom over which he claimed to be the feudal overlord. It had not only been offered by the Papacy to Edmund of England, but also to Louis IX for one of his sons; but the saintly king's sense of justice made him refuse the suggestion. The people supported Manfred, and he was worthy of their confidence. He had played a most difficult part with consummate skill. As a bastard son of Frederic II, he could not legally inherit his dominions and was bound by ties of honour, first to Conrad, and then to the infant Conradin. He had succeeded in partly allaying the suspicions of Innocent IV, and in reconciling the country to his rule, for what the Sicilies wanted was a native prince, who would defend them alike against the Pope and the Germans, whom they hated far more bitterly than they did the Saracens. On August 11, 1258, Manfred felt that the crisis demanded that he should assume the crown. He professed that he regarded Conradin, who was also Duke of Swabia, as his heir; but he could not allow things to drift as they would inevitably do if a minor were on the throne. For some years with Manfred at its head the Ghibelline party was triumphant and it was necessary that if the papal cause was to succeed that help should be found beyond the Alps. In 1261 a Frenchman, James Pantaleon of Troyes, Patriarch of Jerusalem, was elevated to the papal throne as Urban IV, a proof that even when feudalism was at its height, merit had its opportunity in the church: for the new pope was the son of a cobbler.

It was the old story so often repeated since the days of Theodoric the Ostrogoth. The Popes could tolerate no master in Italy; they could not stand without one, so they had to seek for outside aid whether from Constantinople, across the Rhine or in France. They now brought upon themselves harder taskmasters than either the Byzantine or the German Cæsars. Their need, however, was indeed great; for the City of Rome was as impatient of the priestly government as ever and Manfred's power and popularity were daily increasing.

The scruples of St. Louis were not shared by his brother Charles of Anjou, who by his marriage with Beatrix, daughter of the last Count of Provence, had obtained that lordship.

Charles was ambitious of being a king, and was urged on by Beatrix, whose two sisters were married to the Kings of France and England, whilst a third was the wife of Richard of Cornwall, who had been elected Emperor. The hopes of the Guelfs were fixed on Charles and they determined to lure him into Italy. In 1262 Urban IV sent an embassy to offer Charles the Kingdom of Sicily, and to overcome the scruples of Louis the French king. It was also necessary to persuade Henry III of England to resign the crown which had been previously bestowed, for a large sum of money, on his son Edmund. When these difficulties had been adjusted, Charles immediately acquiesced, but in the meantime secured his election as Senator of Rome; without informing the Pope, who never during his entire pontificate was in Rome, what he had done. In this way Charles revealed his policy to become King of Sicily and master of Rome itself.

In 1265 another Frenchman became Pope in the person of Clement IV, and the expedition against Manfred was prepared. Every effort was made to raise the necessary funds. Charles's wife sold her jewels, the Pope taxed the churches throughout Christendom to the utmost limit—even Scotland had to contribute to his Sicilian enterprise. The war against Manfred was declared to be a crusade. In this, even the Albigensian war was outdone, which was at least against heretics, whereas the present attack was on orthodox Christians whose ruler had opposed the worldly schemes of the Pope.

Charles reached Rome on the Thursday before Whitsuntide (May 21, 1265). He is described as a man of forty-six, powerful in frame, and royal in demeanour. His complexion was olive, his face severe and hard; his glance awe-inspiring. Such an appearance suited the most sinister figure in the gloomy tragedy of the struggle between Guelf and Ghibelline. He was magnificently received as Senator, but gave the Pope much offence by presuming to take up his lodgings in the sacred palace of the Lateran. Charles waited at Rome for the rest of the year, desperately in need of funds, and anxiously expecting the arrival of the French army. The coronation took

place in St. Peter's on Epiphany, 1266, an honour which no king had hitherto received: on June 20 the King left Rome.

Manfred felt his power slipping from him with the advance of the French. His barons, even the Ghibellines, began to desert, and the only troops he could depend on were Germans and Saracens. On February 26th the decisive battle was fought at Benevento. The event seemed likely to be in Manfred's favour; only at the last did Charles' generalship retrieve the day. When all was lost Manfred rushed on his death and was slain, fighting to the last. He was only thirty-four years of age and was regarded even by the Guelfs as a model of knightly virtue. Charles gave him an honourable burial, but without the rites of the Church. The Bishop of Cosenza with the consent of the ungenerous Pope had his body cast forth as that of an excommunicated person. Manfred's wife and children endured a lifelong imprisonment.

Charles soon caused his new subjects to regret their abandonment of Manfred and the cause of the Guelfs once more asserted itself. The legitimate heir of Frederic II was his grandson Conradin, now growing up to manhood in Germany. He was summoned to Italy to fight for his inheritance in 1267. Supported by Don Arrigo of Castile, Conradin encountered Charles' army at Tagliacozzo on August 23, 1268. He was defeated and escaped from the field of battle, but was taken later and sent to Charles.

What followed was one of the most disgraceful episodes in the horrible war between the Pope and his supporters and the Ghibellines in Italy. Charles of Anjou seems to have been a man destitute of mercy and incapable of a generous sentiment. Clement IV acted as a weak and vindictive French priest. Conradin had been taken within the territory of the Church and might justly have been claimed by the Pope as a prisoner; but he was a Hohenstaufen and Clement left him to his fate. Charles had the last scion of the great Emperors beheaded at Naples on October 29, 1268. The gallant boy met his death with dignity. A month later Clement IV was summoned to his account. Thus perished the House of Swabia, and it is instruc-

tive to notice how completely the sympathy of the reader must change from one side to the other in the interval between Hadrian IV and Alexander III and the two French Popes, Urban IV and Clement IV. The first two fought for the dignity of the Apostolic See, and for the freedom of Italy against one of the greatest of the Emperors. The later Popes, as heads of a faction, successfully crushed the remnants of the house which their predecessors had defied.

The sequel remains to be told. Charles' cruel rule made the French odious in Sicily and slowly prepared for an awful day of vengeance. On March 31, 1282, Easter Tuesday, the people of Palermo were celebrating the festival. A Frenchman insulted a Sicilian girl. The cry was raised, "Death to the French." At the signal a general massacre began throughout the island, and the invaders were exterminated. This is known as the Sicilian Vespers. The island offered its crown to Peter of Aragon, husband of Manfred's daughter Constance. Despite the curses of the Pope and the threats of Charles, Sicily was lost to the house of Anjou, who only retained its Italian possessions. Charles died in 1285.

In this manner ended a struggle which had lasted for more than a century. A dynasty of men of the most forceful character and ability had made a bid for supremacy in Europe and, after almost attaining their object, had failed disastrously. It must never be forgotten that the Popes who brought low the mighty Hohenstaufens were not magnificent and haughty prelates, enthroned in majesty in Rome and calmly issuing laws for the world, or, indignant at the perversity of humanity, launching the thunders of excommunications and interdicts from the proud security of St. Peter's or the Lateran. Still less must they and their entourage be regarded as men living in luxury out of the enormous taxes they wrung from the rest of the Church. Hadrian IV's words to his friend John of Salisbury might have been uttered by any pope from Gregory VII to Boniface VIII. When his obligations are compared with his resources there were few poorer potentates than the Popes of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. They were to be found

everywhere but in Rome; and if they did get a foothold in their own City they were almost certain to be driven out within a few months. Very rare indeed was a Pope able to occupy his own palace in the Lateran or to officiate in his own Cathedral. Yet these wandering pontiffs brought the pride of the Empire to the dust.

When enquiry is made as to how this was accomplished it cannot be argued that the victory of the Papacy was a moral one, as the triumph of Gregory VII over Henry IV had been. Innocent III, despite the fact that circumstances compelled him to sanction two great crimes, the Latin Conquest of Constantinople and the Albigensian war, was morally better than his age, as was possibly Gregory IX; but some Popes, though personally severe to themselves like Innocent IV, disgusted even the politicians of the thirteenth century by their unscrupulous hostility to the Emperor. Nor was it a triumph of mind over brute force. Hadrian IV, Alexander III, Innocent III and Gregory IX were intellectual giants, and were conspicuous as politicians and lawyers, but Frederic Barbarossa was honoured as the most efficient and just of German rulers. Frederic II is one of the greatest legislators in history, and his intellectual capacity places him in the first rank.

The failure of the Hohenstaufens must be otherwise accounted for, and the cause seems to have been the deep resentment their nation aroused in Italy. They seemed incapable of realising that a people as a rule their inferiors in military prowess, often vain and inconstant, lacking the high serious qualities of the German race, could prove such formidable foes and be so insensible to the terrors of their arms and the ruthlessness of their methods. It seemed incredible to them that ruined towns could arise from their ashes and crush great armies. The Popes, more farsighted, took the side of Italian patriotism, and used it as a lever against the power of the Empire.

In addition to this France was enlisted on the side of the Papacy. Already the two nations, the Germans and the French, once almost identical, now drawing wide apart in

character and ideals; and the eastern and western Franks were rivals for world domination. France and the Empire could never coöperate in a crusade because both people wanted to be dominant in the East. Consequently when the Pope gained the support of Charles of Anjou by recognising him as King of the Sicilies, he secured French ambition to dominate the Mediterranean as a powerful ally. That the unfortunate country was handed over to a ruler far more cruel than any German had yet shown himself is a proof that papal diplomacy was as unscrupulous as that of any other power.

But whatever may have been the morality of these transactions, the Popes had gained the object they sought. Italy was to remain for centuries disunited; and no great power was to be permitted to fetter the Roman Church. The work begun by Charles the Great was completely undone: the Empire was never again to dominate the papal policy, or really to rule in Italy. The results of this yet remain to be considered.

From Charles the Great to Frederic II (800–1250) the Emperor was, whenever he asserted himself, the greatest man in the Western World. He owed this less to the imperial crown than to his position as King of Germany. It is sufficient to mention King Henry the Fowler and the Emperors Otto I, II, III in the tenth century, Henry II, III and IV in the eleventh, Henry V and Frederic Barbarossa in the twelfth, and Frederic II in the thirteenth. From this time forward there was never an Emperor who was not completely overshadowed by some other potentate in Europe with the single exception of Charles V, and this was due not to his position in Germany but to the fact that he was King of Spain, and had inherited the Netherlands. The Germans were never able to combine under a single head from the fourteenth till the nineteenth century, nor take the position in the world to which they believed their virtues entitled them. The country could not recover from the fatal effects of their attempts to annex Italy and become, in truth as well as in name, the "Romans" of the West.

And in fact the Popes owed their victory more to their

weakness of Italy than to anything else. In the fifteenth century they really ruled in Rome, and enjoyed princely wealth and splendor. The price they paid for this was that they enjoyed the rank of the greatest of Italian princes, but no more. Insensibly, whilst paying them the highest honours as their spiritual rulers, the monarchs of Europe ceased to regard them as of much greater importance than other petty potentates. In the days when driven from Rome, they sought an asylum in foreign lands, and wandered almost as suppliants from one Italian city to the other, they commanded the obedience of the world. Roman in the truest sense it might be said of the Papacy as it was of the Republic:

Merses profundo, pulchrior evenit.

But as a prosperous Italian institution the Roman Church lost the respect, even of the most ardent Catholics.

Whatever judgment may be passed on their policy and actions, it is impossible to deny that the Popes of the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries numbered the greatest men in the world. St. Leo IX, St. Gregory VII, Urban II, Hadrian IV, Alexander III, Innocent III, Gregory IX, Innocent IV, and Boniface VIII were the dominating forces in Europe. But no pope in after days can compare with any of these. And a man may be fairly acquainted with history and yet find it difficult to connect much that is definite with the names of any pontiff in the fourteenth, the seventeenth or the eighteenth centuries. Even during the period of the Reformation and counter Reformation Catholics looked, not to the Popes, but to the Kings of Spain as their chief support. Modern Popes owe more than they suspect to the misfortune that they, like their predecessors in heroic days, are not allowed to rule as princes in a badly policed city over an ill-governed Italian principality.

The deep resentment felt in Germany for the Papal part in these long contests with the Empire was long dormant, but finally burst forth in the Reformation, which might have been even more formidable had the Emperor been a German in-

stead of a Spaniard. It is perhaps fanciful to notice that in 1227 Gregory IX pronounced the sentence of excommunication on Frederic II and in 1527, three centuries later, the army of Charles V sacked Rome before the eyes of Pope Clement VII.

The defeat of the Hohenstaufen and the ruin of the Christian cause in the Holy Land in the thirteenth century turned the effort of Germany in another direction. Frederic II's faithful friend, Herman of Salza, the Master of the Teutonic Order, sought another field for the energy of the military Christianity of his nation, and beyond the borders of the Empire on the inhospitable shores of the Baltic his Order made their memorable settlement.

Throughout the thirteenth century the Order which did not finally abandon the Holy Land till 1291, was drifting to the East of Europe first at the invitation of Andrew of Hungary, and acquiring their settlement as armed missionaries among the Wends of Prussia. Then, till their crushing defeat by the Poles at Tannenbourg in 1410, they were steadily extending German influence eastward and laying the foundations of the principality of the family of Hohenzollern, in whom their grand-mastership eventually became hereditary. Thus from the failure of the Crusades the way was paved for the Kingdom of Prussia, and the late imperial dynasty of Germany.

The fall of the Hohenstaufen before the ambition of Charles of Anjou also brought about the complete collapse of Christian ascendancy in Eastern Europe. The Latin Empire in Constantinople came to an end in 1261 and the last strip of the Holy Land was lost in 1291, but in Greece and the Morea French principalities existed, which were lost or abandoned, because their chiefs were called to fight in Italy. Thus a way was paved for the establishment of Turkey in Europe in the fifteenth century.

England, which had been the nation most faithful to the Popes and had never forgotten that it owed its Christianity to Gregory the Great, began to be alienated from the Roman See by the enormous exactions of Innocent IV. Since John's surrender of his crown to Innocent III the papal policy had been

fostering a deep and sullen feeling of resentment. It was a pope who condemned Magna Charta, and censured Archbishop Stephen Langton, a pope who opposed Simon de Montfort, a pope who drove the Bishop of Lincoln to remonstrate at the shameless way he tried to intrude Italians, even as children, into important benefices in the Church. People absolutely free from any suspicion of heresy were led to contrast the conduct of the Papacy and the precepts of the Gospels. The long reign of the weak and pious Henry III did as much to alienate England from Rome as anything up to the Reformation by kindling sparks of suspicion and distrust of the court of the Popes.

It cannot be pretended that the strife between the Papacy and the House of Hohenstaufen, between Guelf and Ghibelline, was a war of religion. There was no question of doctrine or practice which divided the combatants. On these points they were in full agreement. The Guelfs did not stand for priestly piety, nor the Ghibelline for secular independence. There was no moral question at issue. Gregory IX might denounce Frederic II's excesses, his half pagan court, his sensual indulgence; but as is often the case in ecclesiastical disputes, when the parties are friends, sins are not rebuked; it is only after the quarrel has broken out. Neither side favoured heretics: both held them in equal abhorrence. Nor was there any difference in the spirit in which Guelf and Ghibelline waged war. Charles was just as merciless a tyrant as Ezzelino da Romano, of whom it was said that if Francis had come in the guise of Christ, he had come in that of Satan on earth.

The destruction of Frederic II and his house's rule in Sicily was like the Albigensian war, without its excuse, the overthrowing of a premature civilization. In the eleventh century Languedoc had been a centre of culture, an oasis in the midst of brutal violence. Music and song had flourished there with all the amenities of life. Simon de Montfort and his fanatic crusaders came and swept it away. Frederic's kingdom with its long tradition of good government under the Normans had made Sicily the hope of civilization in the centre of the

Mediterranean. Frederic had attracted to it the wisdom of the age from East to West. Charles, backed by the Popes, washed out this hopeful civilization in blood, not because of their horror of the sins of the people, but because their ruin was necessary to the policy of the Church party.

AUTHORITIES

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There is unfortunately no modern biography known to me of Alexander III except Mann, *op. cit.*, Vol. X, who devotes with the bibliography 238 pages to him. His life by Boso to 1178 is the last in the *Liber Pontificalis*.

Two whole volumes of Mann's *Lives of the Popes* are devoted to Innocent III. A. Luchaire has six small and interesting volumes on this Pope. The *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. VIII, has a short bibliography and a most useful map of Europe at this time. The best English account of Frederic II which I know is in Milman's *Latin Christianity*, Bk. X, of which Freeman in his Essay on Frederic II, *Historical Essays*, p. 295, says, "There is no part of his great work which is more palpably a labour of love." There is an English life by T. L. Kington-Oliphant, *History of Frederic the Second, Emperor of the Romans* (1862). See also Villari, *Medieval Italy*, Bk. III, Chs. II–IV; "Frederic II," "Manfred," and "Conradin."

CHAPTER XI

THE FRENCH MONARCHY AND THE PAPACY

Importance of France — The great feudatories — Louis VI — Louis VII — Philip Augustus — Philip Augustus and England — French and English kings and their subjects — The "Appanages" — St. Louis IX — Intellectual revival in France — (a) the monasteries; (b) in the schools; (c) Popes and councils — Innocent II and his rival Anacletus II — Popes in exile in France — English primates in France — Paris as the capital — Early French literature — French intervention in papal affairs and in Italy — Charles of Anjou — Charles, Senator of Rome — Vacancy in the Papacy — Gregory X Pope — Election of Rudolph of Hapsburg — Council of Lyons — Reconciliation of the Greek Church —The Conclave — Character of Gregory X — Charles of Anjou as Senator of Rome — The Vespers — The Colonnas — Election of Peter Murrone the Hermit as Celestine V — Boniface VIII — Destruction of the Colonnas' power — The Jubilee — Philip the Fair — Fall of Boniface VIII — The Babylonish captivity at Avignon — The Knights Templar — The order suppressed — Death of Philip the Fair and Clement V.

The rise of a great French monarchy, originating with nominal Kings of France, masters of an insignificant duchy, who eventually consolidated many powerful independent feudal dominions into an united nation, is one of the leading facts in medieval history, and the importance of its influence upon the Western Catholic Church can hardly be overestimated; for, by the commencement of the fourteenth century, the Papacy, having ceased to fear the Empire as a rival, found a master in the King of France.

Before, however, describing the progress of medieval France towards unity, it is necessary to take a survey of the country in order to understand the heterogeneous elements out of which the nation was ultimately evolved. By the close of the tenth century Gaul, west of the Rhone, was divided into seven great lordships, including the cities of Ghent, Bruges, and Lille. On the northern coast were Normandy, Brittany, Champagne, Aquitaine, Gascony, and Toulouse; on the frontier along the Rhone was Burgundy. The northern central district was called France. This included Anjou,

Maine, Blois, the cities of Paris and Orleans and extended to the city of Reims. The later Carolingians had virtually no territory; and, with the disappearance of their dynasty, the kingdom of France devolved on the Capets, the first members of which, despite the royal title, were not in wealth, influence, or extent of territory, the equals of some of the great feudatories.

When Louis VI ascended the throne in 1108 his power could not compare with that of the Duke of Normandy, now King of England, nor with the Counts of Flanders, Blois, Champagne and Anjou. In the South, the royal title was purely nominal; indeed it was not without a strong force to protect him against the petty barons in his dominions that the King of France could make a journey between his two chief cities, Orleans and Paris. But Louis, called by his subjects, first "The Wakeful," and in later life "the Fat" (le Gros), had three powerful allies, the Church, the citizens of the towns, and his own untiring energy. With his petty resources it is marvellous how he managed to hold his own; but the Church steadily supported the monarchy as did the rising commercial towns. Louis' adviser in his latter days was Suger, the politic abbot of St. Denis, near Paris, who continued to watch over the affairs of the growing Kingdom with unremitting care during the first years of the long reign of Louis VII (the Young).

The small field, on which Louis VI displayed his ability and energy as a ruler, does not detract from the greatness of his work. The very fact that he did not interfere with his most powerful feudatories shows him to be possessed of statesmanlike capacity; for he preferred to consolidate rather than to extend his authority. With the support of Flanders he was able to hold his own against the Count of Blois, and his formidable neighbour, Henry I of England, who since the battle of Tinchebray (1108) was also Duke of Normandy. Without relaxing his authority over the Church within his dominions Louis proved himself the champion of the oppressed monks and clergy; and though he was not naturally disposed to

favour the growing independence of the towns, he had the wisdom to grant many charters confirming their privileges.

The quarrel between the Papacy and the Empire contributed greatly to enhance the prestige of the French monarchy, and Louis VI became in a sense a new Clovis, the defender of the Papacy against its foes. As such he obtained for himself and his successors the title of Eldest Son of the Church.

Just before his death Louis VI made a valuable addition to his dominions by marrying his son to Eleanor, heiress of William X of Aquitaine, thus uniting to the petty duchy of the Isle of France, for it was little more, a large territory in the southwest extending to the Pyrenees.

Louis VII (1137–1180) was inferior to his father in energy and ability. His piety so wearied Eleanor that she obtained from the Church a dissolution of the marriage on the ground of relationship, and flung herself into the arms of her husband's great rival, Henry II of England. Her vast inheritance made Henry the most powerful ruler in the West, the head of a great feudal empire, consisting of the Kingdom of England, which claimed homage from the King of the Scots, Normandy, Brittany, and nearly half of modern France. Louis VII's unwarlike reign was fortunately long; and his friendship with the Church stood him in good stead. He made use of his opportunities, such as Henry II's dispute with Becket and the constant quarrels in the Plantagenet household. But despite his misfortunes Henry was an able man and a dangerous rival; and the Kings of England were in the twelfth century far more important as sovereigns than their nominal overlords of France.

The Plantagenet empire was more splendid in appearance than in reality. Its head was as much a foreigner in Normandy as he was in England, and there was no cohesion between his widespread lordships. Given a bad king of England and an able statesman on the throne of France, there could be little doubt as to the result. This came when Philip Augustus reigned over France and John over England.

Philip Augustus (1180–1223) is the real founder of the

French monarchy, and few princes have played the game of statescraft more skilfully. His general policy may be described as espousing the cause of the commonalty against the nobles, and biding his time. Though he went on a crusade, he shunned several hazardous enterprises, and allowed others to engage in them whilst he reaped the benefit. Although he incurred the wrath of Innocent III by his repudiation of Ingeburge, the daughter of the King of Denmark, and drew down the terrors of an interdict upon his people, he was generally favoured by the clergy, and rose to power by their assistance. His two great successes were that, without taking part personally in the Albigensian war, and allowing Simon de Montfort the credit, and for a while the profit, he ultimately obtained all the benefits of the conquest of Toulouse for his family, and also that he availed himself so well of the crimes and blunders of John that he made himself virtually master of much of the continental inheritance of the Plantagenets.

Philip Augustus had been constantly at war with Henry II, and his great rival was Richard I; but his opportunity came when John captured Arthur, the son of his elder brother Geoffry Plantagenet, who had obtained Anjou, Brittany, Maine and Touraine, and had hereditary claims on the crown of England. Arthur had taken Mirabeau where Eleanor, his grandmother, was residing. She refused to surrender, and summoned John to her aid. Arthur was imprisoned and confined in the strong castle of Falaise. As he refused to abandon his claim on England, John removed him to Rouen and no more is known as to his fate. As Arthur's feudal superior, Philip Augustus felt bound to enquire into the manner of his death. Whether John was formally condemned or not is uncertain; but Philip invaded his dominions. Normandy was rapidly overrun. Anjou and Poitou surrendered to the French King, who speedily possessed himself of John's towns on the Loire. Thus, owing to John's misconduct, the most flourishing of the northern provinces of France came under the crown (1202–1206).

Then followed the affair of the election of Stephen Langton

to Canterbury, the interdict, and the summons from Innocent III to Philip Augustus to possess himself of the English throne, defeated by John's complete surrender of his crown to the Pope and his transformation from a King of England, under sentence of the Church, into a favoured vassal of the Papacy. Thus enabled to defy his rival of France, John prepared a most formidable combination against him with Otto, the Emperor, and the Count of Flanders. Philip's northern dominions were invaded, and the armies met at Bouvines, a small village between Lille and Tournay. The Confederacy was defeated and the cause of Otto ruined; and the victory at Bouvines (1214) made the King of France the greatest sovereign in Europe. Philip Augustus even felt strong enough to send his son Louis at the invitation of the English barons to claim the crown of their country. This ambitious project was defeated by the death of John and the accession of the youthful Henry III.

It is impossible to avoid contrasting the attitude of the Kings of France towards the Church and their people with that of the English sovereigns. The Plantagenets, especially Richard I and John, regarded their kingdom chiefly as a place from which money could be collected to further their projects elsewhere, and the churchmen they prized most were efficient business men who could be paid for serving them out of the revenues of the Church. Their barons, at first foreigners who despised the English, were thrust by oppression into alliance with the people, whom the Church could never afford or desire entirely to neglect. Patriotism in consequence became the watchword of the three estates of the realm, among whom a national sentiment was fostered. It was otherwise with Philip Augustus and his two predecessors, Louis VI and VII, who found their supporters among the clergy and the burgesses, whilst the nobles were disposed to stand aloof in selfish isolation. Thus, whereas in England, clergy, nobles, and people combined against the anti-national policy of the Crown, in France King, clergy, and people united to crush the separatist policy of the great feudatories. By the time of the death of

Philip Augustus France was on the high road to become a strong centralised government; but his son and successor, Louis VIII (1223–1226), though a brave, warlike, and politic prince, undid the work of a century by leaving separate feudal dominions to his younger children, giving to his second son the countship of Artois, to his third those of Anjou and Maine, and to his fourth Poitou and Auvergne. This policy had ruined the older dynasties of the Franks,—and the "appanages," as they were called, created a new feudal system in place of the older. To this many of the later troubles of France were due, as were the subsequent triumphs of the English at a later date. But for the present the progress of the country was steady.

Royal saints are seldom a blessing to their country; but St. Louis IX (1226–1270) is an exception to the rule. He succeeded to the throne at the age of twelve; and the country was in danger of a period of feudal anarchy which generally accompanied a minority. Fortunately his mother, Blanche of Castile, proved herself more than capable of dealing with a recalcitrant nobility. For ten years she administered affairs, disregarding the plots of her adversaries, and the slanders raised against her character; and, even when her son had assumed the government, she continued to exercise her influence. Haughty and arbitrary as was her nature, France owes her a deep debt for preserving the integrity of the monarchy at a critical period.

By the time St. Louis took upon himself the royal authority, the King of France was by far the greatest of the feudal owners of land. Only five great princes now remained. The Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, the Counts of Flanders and Champagne, together with the King of England, who still occupied Aquitaine and Gascony. Except the last named, none of these was capable of resisting the power of the crown; and throughout France great royal officers were appointed to look after the King's interests in the Baillages and Senechaussées, into which the country was now divided. Even the King of England was hardly able to hold his own; for the competent

piety of Louis IX was more serviceable to his country than the feeble virtue of Henry III. Despite the fact of his disastrous participation in the Crusades (1249–1254), his capture at Damietta and the enormous ransom which the King scrupulously paid, France prospered under Louis and his mother Blanche. This was greatly due to the moderation and strict sense of justice displayed by the King, who refused to take advantage of the weakness of Henry III, and would be no party to the schemes of such worldly pontiffs as Innocent IV and his successors in their quarrel with the Empire. His allowing his brother Charles of Anjou to accept the crown of Sicily was one of the few errors in his wise and straightforward policy. In his severity to heretics he did but act in accordance with the spirit of his age; and even if, like Frederic II, he had accepted Christianity with the calmness of a philosopher rather than the fervour of a saint, he would not have been less vigorous against them.

Having surveyed the wide field of French history and shown how under five monarchs a realm divided and subdivided into feudal principalities, had begun to be welded together so as to be in a position to speak with authority to the world, it is desirable to notice some of the reasons for the growing importance of the French monarchy. First among these stands the great part the country took in the intellectual revival in its monasteries, and their schools which culminated in the University of Paris.

It was in France that the great revivals of monasticism occurred in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Cluny, under its early abbots, reformed the ancient rule of St. Benedict, by which each abbey was allowed to work out its own system. The reformed monasteries were federated in feudal dependence on the great abbey which formed the centre of administration of a logically devised rule. Fleury was the exemplar of the English Benedictine monasteries, revived by St. Dunstan, who sought his inspiration from France. Bec in Normandy became not only a model of monastic discipline, but attracted the two most learned men of the age in the Italians, Lanfranc

and Anselm, who found the atmosphere of Normandy more congenial for learning than that of their own country. Tours had long been a famous school, and in the middle of the eleventh century pupils from all parts of the world were flocking to hear Berengar, the learned deacon. Citeaux and the Cistercians, the Puritans of Monasticism, partly owed their origin to the Englishman, St. Stephen Harding; but the Abbot would never have been known as "the Abbot of Abbots" but for the wonderful impulse the genius of St. Bernard gave to the whole movement. Contemporary with Bernard was St. Norbert, the founder of the Canons of Premontré. Like St. Bruno, the founder of the Carthusians, he was a German, but it was in France that his influence was felt; for France has always been receptive of foreign talent.

Before the appearance of universities the monastic schools of France proved an extraordinary stimulus to learning. The most famous were Chartres, Laon and the great Abbeys in or near Paris. The fame of Chartres dates from Fulbert (d. 1020), who continued to teach after he had become its bishop. Laon was celebrated for the brothers Anselm (not the Archbishop of Canterbury) and Ralph; and Paris in the eleventh century was full of famous teachers. A most interesting account of the career of a scholar is to be found in the autobiographical notes of an Englishman, John of Salisbury, who spent twelve years in going from teacher to teacher in France, principally at Chartres, of which he became bishop, and Paris. John is described as one of the most correct Latin writers of the Middle Ages, and was a characteristic product of an early French education.[1]

Bernard and Abélard, the two great rivals, representing the spirit of monastic mysticism on the one hand, and of restless enquiry on the other, are both typical of the France which arose with the revival of civilization. In them we have a foreshadowing of the history of religion in France, fervent piety combined with practical ability—for Bernard was the virtual

[1] The chapter by R. L. Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Mediæval Thought* (Ch. VII), should be consulted.

ruler of the Christian world of the West—and the keen spirit of logic which shrinks before no difficulty.

But France during this period of growth was not merely the home of ideas, whether expressed in Monasticism—for that was the one thing which occupied the best minds in the earlier Middle Ages—or in the thirst for knowledge, which was so keenly felt after the appearance of Abélard. It was also the home of the oppressed, especially Popes and English Archbishops.

Indeed some of the most important councils of the twelfth and thirteenth century were held by exiled pontiffs in or on the border of France. It was a French Pope (Urban II), who proclaimed the First Crusade in 1096 at the Council of Clermont, so that to France belongs this great enterprise symbolical of the awakening of Western Europe after the long night of the Dark Ages. The remarkable papal schism when Innocent II and the anti-pope Anacletus II, elected on the same day in Rome by two factions of cardinals, was decided in France. The story is unique in the history of papal elections. When Honorius II was dying in 1130, it was known that a member of the powerful and wealthy family of the Pierleone would have a majority of the cardinals. This the minority, like all minorities professing to represent the more sensible men (*saniores*), resolved to prevent. Accordingly they almost rushed from the bedside of the dead Pope and proclaimed Innocent II, who was enthroned the very same day, but later, the majority of the Cardinals chose and placed Pierleone in the Papal Chair in St. Peter's as Anacletus II. Innocent II, finding he had not even the support of the Frangipanis, the rivals of the Pierleones, fled the City and took refuge in France. There he found an ally more powerful than his Roman enemies. His cause was enthusiastically espoused by the great French monk and mystic St. Bernard of Clairvaux, the glory of the Cistercian Order. A more difficult case to decide it would be hard to discover. Anacletus had the majority on his side. Innocent, though he could claim priority of election by a few hours, was chosen in a clandestine and irregular manner. But a cause opposed by St. Bernard was almost

necessarily lost. The Jewish birth of Anacletus was remembered, his family were declared to have acquired their wealth by usury, their fidelity to Gregory VII and the papal interests was forgotten and Innocent II has gone down to posterity as lawful Pope and Anacletus II as a usurper.

As exiles fighting a desperate battle with the Empire, France welcomed the Popes with open arms. There they held their councils, inspired crusades, issued commands for the Christian world, dictated terms of alliance to the Greeks. In their direst poverty the French episcopate supplied them with the necessary means. But the French Kings, since Louis VI, never allowed encroachments on their prerogatives; and even when under just papal displeasure, they never escaped excommunication by a journey to Canossa, or by doing homage for their crown. Louis IX, with all his devotion, never forgot what was due to his position as King of France, and kept the control of the clergy firmly in his hands.

Three of the most eminent English primates, St. Thomas Becket, Stephen Langton and St. Edmund Rich, found a hospitable reception in France when their own country would not keep them. All three were welcomed at Pontigny near Sens, whither Becket betook himself to lay his case before Alexander III, and in somewhat theatrical fashion to offer his resignation of the See of Canterbury to the Pontiff. Pontigny was a particularly appropriate place for persecuted English primates to take refuge in, as it was the eldest daughter of Citeaux, the monastery for which their countrymen St. Stephen Harding had done so much. Here Becket tried at intervals to change the magnificence and luxury to which as Chancellor and as Archbishop he had been accustomed, for the severity of the Cistercian discipline, often relapsing, however, into his old pursuits and habits. The exiled Pope Alexander III found in the fugitive Archbishop a most embarrassing neighbour, and Louis VII a guest whose presence was as welcome to him as it was displeasing to his rival Henry II of England.

At Pontigny Stephen Langton remained when John refused to receive him at Canterbury, and England lay under the

interdict of Innocent III. Here the great Archbishop and patriot calmly pursued his biblical studies, till the time should come for him to play his part in the politics of his native country, where he was destined to do more benefit by his brave and independent life, than Becket by his spectacular but heroic death.

Very different from either of the above was the gentle and saintly Edmund Rich, who left England shortly before his death in despair at the condition of the country. He was offered the house which Becket had occupied, but preferred the simple cell of a Cistercian monk. He died in 1240, one of the most scholarly and high-minded men who ever sat in the Chair of St. Augustine, and received the supreme honour of canonization.

The intellectual centre which drew foreigners to France from every part of the world was Paris. Originally it was not a city of the first rank, as is shown from the fact that it was not the seat of an archbishop, its bishop being a suffragan in the province of Sens. But under the kings we have been enumerating it developed rapidly and its prosperity kept pace with the royal power of France. It owed much to the great abbeys in and around it. Of these the most famous and sumptuous was that of St. Denys (believed to be Dionysius the Areopagite), the burial place of the kings of France, the royal abbey *par excellence*, where the oriflamme was kept. There Louis VI and Louis VII were educated. It was about four miles north of Paris on a bend of the Seine. Nearer the city were the two monasteries of St. Germanus, and, overlooking it on the mount south of the Seine, that of St. Geneviève, the patron saint of Paris, who had saved the town in the days of Attila. The original medieval city was on the island of the Seine where Notre Dame (the present building dates from the end of the twelfth century) stands. On either side of the river houses began to be built, on the north for the growing commerce, and on the south, for the influx of students first to the Cathedral School and St. Geneviève, and later to the University. Thus arose the famous Latin quarter of Paris. The

three divisions of the City from north to south were the *Ville*, the *Cité* and the *University*.

Each successive monarch contributed to the enrichment of Paris, but the two who did most were Philip Augustus and his grandson St. Louis IX. Its peculiar influence on France has been due to the fact that it was not merely as a residence of the kings or as a commercial mart that Paris became important, but because it had become through its schools the intellectual heart of France.

The development of France is further seen in its literature. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the language was assuming its present form. Beginning with poetry there was an output, considerable at any rate in volume, from the close of the eleventh century. According to the twelfth century Norman poet Wace, the Conqueror's minstrel sang, as he rode before the Duke to fight at Hastings, of Charlemagne, Roland and Oliver, the heroes of the "*Song of Roland*," the greatest of the *Romans*, earlier known as *Chansons de Geste* (Songs of Deeds). In the south there were the Troubadours with their elaborated lyrics, and their fantastic laws of love, yet to these we owe Dante's romantic adoration of Beatrice. The story of the "Holy Grail," the "Golden Legend," the "Romance of the Rose," show the variety of the subjects touched on by the early French poets. But poetry and song are the beginnings of a literature; and already the French language was being used for the more difficult art of historic prose. The capture of Constantinople in 1204 called forth the narrative of Godfrey of Villehardoin, and the virtues of Louis IX induced another French noble, the Sieur de Joinville, to write his reminiscences of the Good King in a work "which may be fairly counted among the memorable biographies of European literature." [1] By the close of the fourteenth century French was a literary language, and being that of the nobility of England, had an influence on the formation of English literature. Italy owes its national renaissance greatly to the impulse first given by France.

[1] Wendell, *The Tradition of European Literature*, p. 546.

It is now time to consider in more detail the influence of the French upon the Papacy from the time of the annihilation of the Hohenstaufens down to the tragic humiliation and death of Boniface VIII in 1303. It will be remembered that Urban IV, a Frenchman, was the Pope who gave the crown of Sicily to Charles of Anjou. He ascended the papal throne in 1261, and from this time to the election of Boniface VIII in 1294, there were eleven popes and the see was vacant for two long periods aggregating five years and eight months. With short-lived popes and anarchy in the city, the control of the Holy See was at the mercy of any ambitious prince who was on the spot.

The policy of Charles of Anjou, the youngest brother of St. Louis, was to make French influence supreme in Italy; and, from thence, to found a great empire in the Mediterranean, using the Papacy as an instrument to carve out for himself the dominion of the civilized world. Far abler than his brother, Charles not only entertained great projects, but showed consummate skill in carrying them out. A better diplomat than Frederic II, he constantly posed, whilst keeping an iron hand on the Papacy, as the faithful friend of the Church. The battles of Benevento and Tagliacozzo proved him to be one of the greatest captains of his age, and, when one considers the disadvantages under which he started on his enterprise, it is impossible not to admire his ability. The sole weakness he displayed was due to his cold calculating selfishness, and entire lack of generosity or idealism of any kind. Unlike his brother, St. Louis, who made France a great power by the sheer force of his goodness and transparent honesty of purpose, Charles played a bold and unscrupulous game. He avoided all the mistakes of Frederic II by maintaining his position as the ally and friend of every Pope, and gave no cause for suspicion of his orthodoxy by favouring any of his subjects, treating the Latins, Greeks and Saracens in his Sicilian kingdom with impartial cruelty. Nor, having got the popes into his hand did he ever let them have the power to injure him. He was also fortunate in having, with one exception, no strong pope,

owing to the shortness of the reigns of the eight who held the See, from the time of his being summoned to Rome till his death (1261–1285).

Charles did not come to Italy till 1265, but he had made it a condition that he should be appointed Senator of Rome, an office which the Romans, when struggling to become an independent republic, had formerly bestowed on a citizen, but was now being given to powerful foreign patrons. After many negotiations as to whether he was to be Senator for life, or only till he became King of Sicily, it was arranged that it should be a temporary appointment, though Charles was evidently resolved to use his authority in Rome as a lever, if necessary, against the Pope. For a time, however, the Senatorship passed to Don Arrigo of Castile, but Charles, after his victories, resumed the position and became Master of the City. His conquest of Sicily, which has already been related, left the French influence supreme in all papal affairs.

After the battle of Tagliacozzo the Roman See was vacant for more than three years (November 29, 1268–March 27, 1272), during which period the Christian world in the West was without Emperor or Pope. The Latin Empire in Constantinople had also collapsed; and in 1270 St. Louis had gone on his last crusade which by the influence of his brother had been diverted to Tunis, in order to assure the tribute due to Charles as King of Sicily. In 1271 Charles with the new King of France, Philip III—St. Louis having died of the plague in Tunis—was in Rome. With them was an English prince, Henry, son of Richard, the Duke of Cornwall, and King of the Romans. Charles's Vicar in Tuscany was the son of Simon de Montfort; and determined to avenge the death of his father upon the family of his enemy, he stabbed Henry before the altar and dragged his body out of the church in the presence of the two Kings and the Cardinals. This foul and disgraceful murder was almost unpunished. Guido de Montfort was tried, but he was one of the best of Charles's captains, and nothing serious happened to him. He was, it is true, deprived of his office, but was soon restored to favour. Even his character did not

suffer, for he held the reputation of being a man of great integrity. This throws a light on the tone of the period; and it is even possible that the slaying of an innocent prince at the altar for a wrong done to the father of the murderer by the kindred of his victim, redounded rather to Guido's credit in the estimation of his contemporaries.

But the crime may have reacted upon Guido's master. At any rate, when St. Bonaventure exhorted the Cardinals to put an end to the scandal of the vacancy of the Roman See, they elected, not a nominee of Charles, but an Italian of the house of Visconti, who was Archdeacon of Liège and was at this time in the Holy Land with Edward I of England. He was consecrated in St. Peter's in the spring of 1272 and took the title of Gregory X. Richard of Cornwall, the titular King of the Romans, died a few days after the accession of the new Pope.

For nearly four years (1272–1276) there was peace under Gregory X, who, though not by any means a brilliant man, was eminently wise and pacific. Without a quarrel he was able to curb the ambition of Charles to become Emperor, by sanctioning the choice of Rudolph of Hapsburg as King of the Romans by the German princes, who were determined not to elect a foreigner. Thus the Papacy was once more reconciled to the Empire, and the new Sovereign, more anxious for peace at home than for supremacy in Italy, wisely submitted to the spiritual authority of Rome. Gregory X was most anxious to crown so dutiful a son of the Church as Emperor. This, however, he was not destined to do, and Rudolph was never crowned.

Like his predecessors, Gregory X went to Lyons, on the borders of the French kingdom, to hold the memorable Council of 1274. Here were assembled representatives of all parts of Christendom. The bishops alone numbered over five hundred. The King of Aragon was present in person, and the ambassadors of Germany, France, England, and Sicily. The East sent the Latin patriarchs of Constantinople and Antioch, and the Orthodox Greek Church despatched delegates to negotiate a union with the Roman See. More striking, however, was the

appearance of sixteen Tartars with a letter from their Khan, requesting an alliance against the Moslems. No council had been so largely attended as this, which is known as the Second General Council of Lyons and is reckoned by the Roman Church as the Fourteenth General Council.

In 1261 Michael VIII (Paleologus), having seized the Empire of the Lascarids at Nicæa, drove Baldwin and the Latins out of Constantinople. The restored Greek Empire was in a difficult position. Its capital was almost in ruins, owing to the brutal rapacity of the invaders, who had occupied it for fifty-seven years. There was the hostility of the Despot of Epirus, a rival for the imperial dignity, and also of the Latin princes of Achaia, and in addition Charles of Anjou was ready to head a crusade against Michael VIII in the interest of Baldwin, or more probably of himself. The Greek Emperor, to avert these dangers, threw himself upon the protection of the Pope, promised to recognise him as Head of the Church and to accept the Creed with the Latin addition of the double procession of the Holy Spirit. At the Council, therefore, the union of the Latin and Greek Church was openly decreed by the surrender of all the pretensions of Constantinople to Rome. The Creed was sung at the Mass both in Latin and Greek with the *Filioque* clause, and a peace was arranged which proved, as might have been expected, only temporary. The majority of the Orthodox indignantly rejected the accommodation between Michael and the heretical West, and the schism continued unhealed to the serious detriment of the cause of Christianity.

More enduring was the arrangement of the papal elections made by the Council of Lyons.

Wherever the Pope may happen to die, the Cardinals on the spot are to wait for eight days for the arrival of absentees. At the expiration of that time, whether they come or not, those present are to assemble in the palace of the pontiff with only one, or at most two attendants, whether clergymen or laymen. They are to live together and no one is to be admitted, nor may the cardinals be spoken to or receive any messages. There is to be only one entrance to the Conclave through

which the meals are to be delivered. If at the end of three days the Cardinals are not agreed as to the election of a Pope, their meals are to be reduced to one a day. At the end of five days nothing but bread, water, and wine is to be supplied.

This is the celebrated law of the Conclave intended to put an end to the scandal of long vacancies of the papal Chair, such as had preceded the election of Gregory X. The Canon proved easier to enact than to enforce; for about sixteen years after the death of Gregory X, there was no pope for one period of two years. It, however, laid down the principle on which papal elections have subsequently been conducted.

The Council deserves attention at this juncture, now that we are considering the subject of French influence on the Papacy. In two centuries, from 1074 to 1274, popes had presided over about twenty-one councils, no less than ten of which were held in or close to France, two of these being General Councils. Only five times within that period had it been possible to assemble the bishops at Rome. The great success of the Second Council of Lyons must have been a conclusive proof that the papal authority could be exercised in more security on the Rhone than on the Tiber, and have caused the popes to wonder whether it would not be advisable to make their home outside a city so tumultuous and ungovernable as Rome.

Gregory X died in January, 1276, after a short but successful pontificate. A wise and conciliatory man he had achieved much. Not only had he taken a part in restoring the Empire, and made it submissive to the Church; but he had thwarted the unscrupulous ambitions of Charles of Anjou so skilfully that it was impossible for him openly to resent the diplomacy of the Pope. Gregory had accepted the inevitable by recognising that the Latin Empire in Constantinople was impracticable, and had made Michael Palæologus accept the papal supremacy over Greek Christendom. The Second General Council of Lyons in 1274 had been remarkable for an unprecedented attendance of prelates representative of the Christian world, and had effected important reforms. The law of the

Conclave alone is sufficient to make this pontificate forever memorable; but it seems even more worthy of record for the spirit in which the Pope acted during a very critical period.

Within a year of Gregory X's death there were no less than three popes elected. As Senator of Rome Charles did all in his power to force a countryman of his own upon the Church. He enforced the new law of the Conclave with all its rigour upon the Cardinals, who opposed him and endeavoured to starve them into submission, whilst his own friends were mysteriously supplied with food. But Italian finesse proved superior to the rough methods of the French prince, and on December 26, 1277, an uncompromising enemy was placed on the papal throne in Nicholas III, of the noble house of the Orsini, the son of Matthew Rubeus, who had been renowned as Senator of Rome. Nicholas skilfully played off Rudolph of Hapsburg on Charles, and succeeded in making one of his own family Senator of Rome. He is one of the famous early papal nepotists, and though he strove for the rights of his See, he was at least as anxious to advance the family of the Orsini. He has been condemned as guilty of Simony, for which reason Dante places him in hell, awaiting the arrival of that more flagrant offender, Pope Boniface VIII.

Martin IV, the next pope, was a Frenchman and a mere tool in the hands of Charles, whose power in Italy was now almost unlimited. But in 1282 the Sicilian Vespers deprived the house of Anjou of half its dominions, and the Crown of Sicily was offered to Peter of Aragon, whose wife Constance was the daughter of Manfred. Charles and Martin died in the year 1285.

It is hardly necessary here to enter into a detailed account of the next few years, which, however, were notable for the rise to great power of the Colonnas, the most enduring of all medieval nobility of Rome. This family had embraced the side of the Ghibelline anticlerical party, and were about to experience the fatal consequences of provoking a vindictive pope, and the satisfaction of making their enemy drink the cup of humiliation to its dregs.

For two years, after the death of Nicholas IV, namely, from April, 1292, to August, 1294, there was no pope. The cardinals then came to an extraordinary decision to place a saint in the Chair of St. Peter. They chose Peter Murrone, a hermit, noted for his austerity, and forced him against his will to be consecrated Pope as Celestine V. The bewildered anchoret struggled in vain to discharge his duties, but, conscious of his own utter helplessness, he issued a decree making it lawful for a pope to resign the triple crown, and retired among his hermits. But it was as dangerous to allow an ex-pope who might become a centre of disaffection to remain at large, as it had been to permit a Roman emperor to retire; and Peter Murrone was kept in strict confinement by his successor Boniface VIII.

Benedict Gaetano was famous for learning and ability, and was fully resolved to restore the unlimited power of the Papacy. He was well on to eighty when he was elected and yet showed a vigour comparable to that displayed by Gregory IX. In his actions Boniface VIII was resolved to show that he was no follower of the deposed and persecuted Celestine V. He entered Rome amid the acclamation of the nobles and people. Two Kings, Charles II of Naples and his nephew Charles Martel of Hungary, walked beside his white palfrey and waited on him at the coronation banquet.

Boniface had a consistent policy in regard to his own family; and in this he followed Nicholas III. It seems that in this century the most necessary support to a successful pontificate was the powerful influence of kinsmen. The Gaetani were able and daring; and the Pope greatly strengthened his position by giving them lordships in the States of the Church. The rise of a new and powerful house alarmed the Colonnas; and, infuriated at the deposition of two Cardinals of their family, they allied themselves with the mystic Jacopone da Todi and the Celestines, as those who declared that Peter Murrone was still Pope, were called. Boniface VIII at once excommunicated the family and proclaimed a crusade against the dominions of the Colonnas. Their fortresses were taken;

finally in September, 1298, their stronghold, the city of Palestrina, was utterly laid waste as by an army of barbarians. The Colonnas were forced to wander homeless in the world. Stephen Colonna, the head of the family, which had been preëminent among the Roman nobility, fled to France and even as far as England. Jacopone da Todi was doomed to a close prison. Sciarra Colonna, the fiercest of the family, escaped, after taking refuge in woods and marshes, and was destined to exact a terrible penalty from the enemy of his house.

The behaviour of Boniface VIII caused as much indignation as had that of Innocent IV. Dante condemns the crime of the destruction of Palestrina and the perfidy of the Pope towards the Colonnas. The terrible vindictiveness of the stern old man towards Christians, whose crime was that they disputed the ascendancy of his family, shocked the best minds of the age and Dante foretells for Boniface VIII a place in hell among the followers of Simon Magus. But the year 1300 was destined to make men forget the rapacity and violence of the papal policy, and to exalt the pope above all mortals.

Ancient Rome had celebrated *Ludi sæculares;* and the thousandth year of the foundation had been commemorated with great splendour by Philip the Arabian. The thousandth year of the Christian Era had been ushered in by expectations of the end of the world, and it was now decided to make the thirteen hundredth anniversary of the birth of Christ the occasion of a Jubilee. The Pope proclaimed remission of sins to all who should visit the basilicas of St. Peter and St. Paul, excepting from the indulgence Frederic of Aragon, who held Sicily in despite of the Church, the Colonnas, and all who traded with the Saracens. It was a magnificent success. The stream of pilgrims was unceasing, the City was well policed, food was plentiful and cheap, lodgings naturally expensive. The Romans were never so happy as in this year. Money flowed on every side. Smiling priests stood by the altars, rakes (*rastelli*) in hand, and raked in the coins as the pious made their offerings. The Pope's enemies declared that he had invented the jubilee solely in order to make the money he so sorely needed to re-

cover his lordship over Sicily. It was, however, noticed that no princes and few rich men came to Rome on this occasion, and that the pilgrims were as a rule poor. The day had passed when such an appeal would have drawn Kings from the ends of the earth. Yet a greater man than any monarch of the time was present at Rome in Dante; and Villani, the Italian historian of his native Florence, was also among the pilgrim throng. Boniface VIII in this supreme hour of triumph, when he seemed to the people and to himself as more than human, could hardly have suspected that among the adoring crowd was a man who would truly bestow upon him the gift of immortality, an immortality of infamy.

The Pope was now at the height of his power and his arrogance knew no bounds. He claimed to be the ruler of the world, Emperor and Pope. He declared all kings his subjects, he ordered the clergy to pay no tax without his consent, he pronounced it necessary to salvation that every human creature should be subject to the Pope.

In Philip IV of France (1285–1314), surnamed "the Fair," the new age seemed incarnate. In many respects he was singularly like his rival and contemporary Edward I of England. He is the first French anti-clericalist. His policy was to nationalize the Church by placing it under the crown. But Philip's weapon was, not the sword, but the law. His most powerful assistants were the great feudal lawyers of France. Every step he took he justified as legal, and, even if he strained the law, he honoured it. Boniface VIII endeavoured to counter Philip's clerical policy by his famous Bull *Clericis Laicos* forbidding the clergy to pay taxes without the consent of the Pope (1296); and throughout his pontificate the dispute as to the rights of the Papacy in France continued. The lawyers Pierre Flotte, Plasian and Nogaret advised the King at every step. Boniface issued bulls like the *Ausculta Fili* in which, under the dignified tone of a pastor and a father, the claims of Rome were pushed to the utmost. The King's lawyers retorted with charges against the Pope, accusing him of heresy, and of crimes, which, considering his age, were absurd on the face of them. In 1303 the

crisis came. Philip the Fair did not, like the German Emperors, march into Italy at the head of an army; he sent William of Nogaret with plenty of money to corrupt the adherents of the pontiff. Accompanied by Sciarra Colonna and a few troops, the French King's agent entered Boniface's native Anagni, where the Pope then was. The people deserted him; his palace was stormed; the cardinals fled. Dressed in his papal robes Boniface VIII sat on his throne, prepared to die. Sciarra Colonna would have slain him: it is said that he even struck the Pope. Nogaret interfered and Boniface was arrested, and then released. He went to Rome only to find himself in the hands of the Orsini. Maddened with rage he shut himself up in his room, and is said to have beaten his head on the wall till he died. He seems to have passed away without the rites of the Church, October 11, 1303.

This dreadful outrage excited no outburst in Christendom. The days of enthusiastic reverence for the Papacy were ended, and the disgrace of Boniface VIII affected but little the princes of Europe, who were already fully occupied with their own affairs. France was in truth a new phenomenon in the world of politics. Since the days of Philip Augustus she had become a first-class power, not as an inheretrix of the Roman Empire, but as a nation. Created by the crusades, to which she gave the strongest impulse, the severely logical spirit of her people gave her a coherence hitherto unknown. Her kings renounced the fantastic ideals of German imperialism and set to work to unite their dominions by breaking the power of the great feudatories, creating a middle class, subordinating the Church to their authority, placing power in the hands of lawyers, and fostering universities. In a word the Middle Ages were being ended by France, and a new world was coming into being with the opening of the fourteenth century.

It now remains to be told how Philip the Fair completed what he had begun by the humiliation of Boniface VIII. The popes found that by ruining the German Empire they had deprived themselves of a power which, if it had sometimes threatened, at least had often protected them. They were now

completely under the control of Philip the Fair. The successor of the terrible Boniface was Benedict IX, who only reigned a few months. He was followed by a Frenchman, Bertrand de Got, who owed his election entirely to Philip, and became his tool. His first act was to summon the cardinals to Lyons, where he was crowned as Clement V. The so-called Babylonish Captivity had begun; and Rome languished, deprived of the presence of a Pope for seventy years. The triumph of France over the Church was complete.

Avignon, whither Clement V repaired in 1308 and was destined long to be the home of the Papacy, was not in French territory. It was in Provence and belonged to Charles of Valois, the brother of Philip the Fair. In 1348 it was purchased by the Pope for 80,000 florins from Queen Joanna of Naples and remained the property of his successors till the French Revolution. Its situation made it a good place from whence to administer the affairs of the Church, but its proximity to French territory made the Curia the organ of the King. Philip the Fair, under threat of bringing Boniface VIII to trial, and having his pontificate censured by a Council, forced Clement V to execute his will, and gave proof of his power and the impotence of the Papacy in his hands by securing the condemnation of the Knights Templar.

This famous Order, founded in 1118, had surpassed all the military fraternities which originated in the Crusades. Now that Palestine was lost to the Christian world, their occupation was gone; but not their wealth, nor to all appearance, their power. They certainly deserved well of the Papacy for their steady support during the dispute with Frederic II. Had it not been for the discomfiture of Boniface VIII, the Papacy, with the Preachers appealing to the educated, the Friars Minor, popular with the poor, and the military support of the Templars in Europe, might have been irresistible. As it was, with the feeble Clement V in power, Philip the Fair felt strong enough to attempt the destruction of the whole organization. He proceeded with consummate cunning. DuMolay, the Grand Master of the Temple, returned to France as a great prince,

and was treated with cordiality and even deference, and given no hint of the King's intentions. The Pope was kept on tenter hooks; for whenever Clement V appeared recalcitrant, he was threatened with the formal trial of Boniface VIII, whose condemnation on charges of heresy, fraud, immorality, and countless other crimes, would prove almost a death blow to papal authority. In the meantime Philip's lawyers were preparing a *dossier* of accusations against the Knights, which in truth were not dissimilar to those levelled against the late Pope. The Order was unpopular for its greed, haughtiness and arrogance, and rumour told of secret crimes and nameless abominations, which were confirmed by the devilish ingenuity of the feudal lawyers of the crown, such as de Plasian and Nogaret. Suddenly and without warning the houses were seized, and the Knights arrested. Hearsay evidence was accumulated, torture was freely employed and the machinery of the Inquisition set in motion. The Templars were said to have been guilty of the most fearful apostacy. They cursed Christ and at their initiation they were compelled to spit on the Cross. They worshipped a hideous idol with the face of a cat called Baphomet. Their ceremonies of admission were blasphemous in the extreme, and grossly indecent, the foulest vices were encouraged and taught to the neophytes. Every kind of hostile evidence was accepted and the Knights, men of noble birth, but unlettered soldiers, confined in dungeons, weighted down by fetters, and subjected to torture, were induced in some instances to admit the charges brought against them. But in fact very little acknowledgment of guilt could be extorted from any of them; and even those who confessed often retracted when the intolerable tortures were removed. Clement remonstrated at Philip's interference with the prerogatives of the Church; for, not only were the Knights reckoned among the clergy, but their alleged crimes were subject to ecclesiastical discipline, and a layman was not the person to take cognisance of them. But Clement V was doubly under Philip's power, on account of Boniface VIII, and also because the Pope was playing a crafty game in the imperial election, pretending to support

Philip's brother Charles of Valois, and intriguing against him with the German princes. A new tool was discovered in the Archbishop of Sens, the Metropolitan of the Bishop of Paris. He declared that Knights who had confessed and retracted their confession were relapsed heretics. Fifty-three were burned at one time.

Philip then forced Clement to suppress the Order entirely. He ordered the arraignment of the memory of Boniface VIII. When the charges had been made he withdrew from the trial, and allowed proceedings to end. The grateful Pope rewarded the King by holding a great council at Vienne in 1311 at which the Order of the Temple was suppressed. DuMolay, the Grand Master, still languished in prison; but in 1313 he and another were burned alive as relapsed heretics.

In no other country were the Templars adjudged guilty of enormous crimes; and upon the whole their treatment was not severe. The horrors of the suppression were confined to France.

This was the real close of the Middle Ages. The Crusades were dead, the Papacy had received a fatal blow, the Empire was but a shadow, the hope of recovering Palestine went when its best champions were burned alive in Paris. The outstanding feature of this age is France. It has been shown how the very name in the eleventh century was confined to a single duchy, how its King was the holder of an almost empty title hardly a *primus inter pares* among the great nobles. It has been indicated how Suger aided Louis VI to make the royal power a reality, how Paris became a capital and the heart of the new Kingdom. France showed its intellectual preëminence in the reformation of monasticism, in the schools of Berengar, Roscelin, William of Champeaux, Anselm of Laon, Abélard—finally in the University of Paris. To France also belongs the chief glory of the Crusades, the rise of the Normans to civilization, and their infusion of new life into England. Fortunate in a succession of really able kings, she fostered civic life, put down the anarchy of feudalism and restrained the ambition of the powerful ecclesiastics. By Charles of Anjou's victories over Sicily, Frenchmen became all powerful in Italy, and the Popes

who never quailed before a German Kaiser, became humble clients of Philip the Fair. That King destroyed the old ecclesiastical civilization, which in future was but a shadow of its former self.

Philip the Fair died in 1314 and Clement V in the same year. Thus neither survived their victim du Molay for more than a few months. Philip the Fair was a bad man, but a great king. Clement V was no better as a man, and was the meanest of the Popes. His predecessors had many faults, but the worst of the popes since the middle of the tenth century were men generally of stainless moral character, who endured hardship with fortitude. Bertrand de Got seems to have been of the despicable type of a licentious ecclesiastic, insatiable in his greed, and, unlike the great popes, he died full of riches but void of honour.

AUTHORITIES

The sketch of the rise of France being a general one, it is not necessary to do more than indicate a few books easily accessible to the student.

G. B. Adams, *Growth of the French Nation* and *Civilization during the Middle Ages*. Kitchin, *History of France*, etc. A. Luchaire has published *Louis VI*, *Annales de sa Vie*. See also J. W. Thompson, *The Development of the French Monarchy under Louis VI le Gros* (Chicago, 1895). There is a book on *Philip Augustus*, by W. H. Hutton (Foreign Statesmen), and in the "Heroes of the Nation Series," *St. Louis* (*Louis IX of France*), by F. Perry. Joinville has been translated by F. Marzials in the *Memoirs of the Crusades* (Everyman's Library); extracts may be read in J. H. Robinson, *Readings*, I, 198–221.

For an account of early Paris see Ch. I of J. McCabe's *Abélard* and T. Okey, *The Story of Paris*, *Medieval Towns*. Philip IV the Fair's reign is not the subject of any English monograph I have come across. See C. N. Langlois in E. Lavisse's *Histoire de France*, Vol. III. Milman in his *Latin Christianity* devotes 328 pages of Vol. VIII to the relations of Philip the Fair and the Popes Boniface VIII and Clement V. The most accessible account of the suppression of the Templars is in Lea's *History of the Inquisition*.

CHAPTER XII

ENGLAND

English Church loyal to Rome — Few excesses — Continental ambition of kings — Early promise of Anglo-Saxon church — Paralysis followed Danish invasion — Early English kings take an imperial title — The Norman Conquest — Enlightened policy of William I — Lanfranc — Refusal of homage to the Pope — The conqueror's ecclesiastical policy — William Rufus — Election of Anselm — Anselm driven out of England — Cause of Anselm's dispute with William — Rapid nationalisation of the English Church — Clergy, nobles, and people unite — Thomas Becket — Becket Archbishop — Character of Henry — Ecclesiastical immunities — Assize of Clarendon — Merits of the controversy — Effect of Becket's murder — Election of the Archbishops of Canterbury — Stephen Langton — The interdict — John's surrender of his crown to Innocent III — England reacts against the Pope — Edward I — The beginnings of Parliament — Taxation of the clergy — The Convocation — The Bull *Clericis Laicos* — Edward I resists Boniface VIII — Changes in England from 1066 to 1300 — The Cathedrals — Durham — Norwich — Lincoln — Gundulf of Rochester — Intellectual activity — Men of humble birth primates — Change in Papal relation — Edward I an English king — England and Scotland — Vacancy of the Scottish throne — Claim and counter claim of England and Scotland from antiquity — Ireland — State of the Church in Ireland.

The Church of the English, the Teutonic peoples as distinguished from the Celtic inhabitants of Britain, was due to the missionary zeal of the Roman See. "Gregory, our father," says Bede, "sent us Baptism"; and the English never forgot their debt; but repaid it by enthusiastic loyalty to the Papacy. No nation looked up to Rome more, or was less troubled by heresy till the close of the thirteenth century. This was not due to the backward state of civilization in the country; for the clergy at least were quite abreast with their age in intelligence. Nor can this freedom be attributed to the natural docility of a peculiarly stubborn people. It was due partly to the remoteness of the island from such *foci* of heretical teaching as Lombardy and Languedoc, and partly to the native good sense of a race which had little sympathy with the exercises of the Paterines, or the political vagaries of the Arnoldists. At any rate, the history of the English Church had fewer wild out-

bursts of misguided zeal, and practically no atrocities compared with those which happened on the Continent. Nothing approaching an Inquisition was permitted by its government.

Yet for some time after the Conquest England had scarcely a history of its own. Its king was ordinarily a great European potentate, owing his regal title to the country, yet not always regarding it as his most important possession. As long as his ambitions were continental, he was hardly a national sovereign, but rather one who looked upon his English monarchy as a convenient starting point from which he might hope to gain an imperial position in Europe. It was in fact the shrinkage of the Continental dominions and ambitions of the King of England that made the country into a great power.

The Anglo-Saxon Church had fluctuated with the fortunes of the nation. Beginning with extraordinary promise, it had from time to time revived, only to sink back under the calamities of the various piratical invasions of the Danes. No church gave birth to such a series of men eminent in more fields than that of the English in the eighth and ninth centuries. It is little short of a miracle that long before the century after the preaching of Augustine, and hardly a generation following the apostolic labours of Aidan, men like Wilfred should have been in the heyday of their powers, and Cædmon, Bede and Aldhelm of Malmesbury have commenced their labours. Within the next century native Englishmen, like Boniface of Crediton, the Apostle of Germany, and Alcuin, the favourite scholar, adviser of Charles the Great, exercised abiding influence on the Continent. John Scotus Eriugena also, whatever his nationality, is believed to have had an English education; and if so, the schools of the country produced one of the most daring thinkers of the West.

But this fair promise was ruined by the depredation of the Danes; and the revival under Alfred the Great, and even the introduction of the Benedictine rule by Dunstan and his friends, resulted in nothing comparable to the abundant harvest of merit which followed the planting of Christianity in Teutonic England. No literary remains of marked excellence

belong to the century preceding the Conquest nor did any churchman of real eminence appear after Dunstan.

Prior to the Danish troubles at the close of the tenth century, the kings of Wessex had become powerful and honoured monarchs, and had claimed to be Emperors, rather than Kings. They styled themselves by the Greek title of *Basileus*, thus implying that they were not dependent on any Emperor, but enjoyed the rights of imperial sovereignty. This fact was remembered by the successors when they found it necessary to assert their authority before the world.

The Norman Conquest was a subjugation of the English Church as well as of the nation, and for generations it was to be ruled by men of alien blood. But though in some instances there were undoubted hardships inflicted on the native clergy, they suffered nothing approaching the tyranny under which the conquered laity groaned. For whilst the Norman baron regarded the English as a race which he was by his victory entitled to oppress, the Bishop or Abbot, though despising the national clergy as ignorant boors, could not forget that they were priests, nor that the people were committed to his charge. A certain *esprit de corps*, due to the consciousness that, after all, they belonged to the same order, drew the clergy together, and the people had a natural reverence for the office of their bishops, which they could not feel for that of their lay oppressors. In addition to this the clergy had in Latin a common language, which the Norman and Saxon laity had not.

That the Church in England gained on the whole immensely by being brought into more intimate connection with the higher civilization of the continent is indubitable, and the Conqueror, though terribly severe, was an enlightened ruler in matters ecclesiastical. Not only had he gone to conquer England, under the special blessing of Alexander II, and was therefore bound by gratitude to the Hildebrandine party in Rome, but he realised the importance of an able and devoted clergy. In addition to this Bishops were more to be trusted than lay nobles with strategical positions which might prove centres of opposition to the King. Already the policy had been

inaugurated of moving the Sees from weaker centres, like Chester le Street to Durham, or from places unimportant from their situation, like Crediton to others which were likely to command the navigation and trade of a district like Exeter. On these principles Dorchester was transferred to Lincoln, and Thetford to Norwich. It was thus of the highest importance to William to appoint as his bishops good and faithful men on whose judgment and ability he could rely. In the English, with the sole exception of Wulfstan of Worcester, he could not trust, and the foreigners whom he caused to be elected were at least better than their predecessors.

For Archbishop of Canterbury William selected the best and ablest ecclesiastic in his Norman dominions in Lanfranc, Abbot of Caen, a man notable for his monastic virtues, his scholastic learning, his stainless orthodoxy, and his knowledge of the law. It is noteworthy that William chose Lanfranc to be virtually the prime minister of his new dominion, not a Norman, but an Italian. As King of England, he needed a lawyer because of his feudal relations. As Duke of Normandy he had to recognise the King of France as his overlord, and he might well be asked to consider himself in a similar state of dependence as to England. This explains the care William took to assume the throne of Edward the Confessor not by right of conquest, but as heir to Edward, by free election of the people, and also the scrupulous show of legality with which he invested all his proceedings. It accounts for his attitude to the Papacy. He had obtained the consent of Alexander II to make an attack on England for the purpose of punishing the perjury of Harold and of restoring the country to Catholic unity, of which the irregularities of Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, had deprived it. But though the King showed himself entirely submissive to the Pope as regards the payment of Peter's pence, he was inexorable in refusing the homage for England which his fellow countrymen had paid for their conquests in Southern Italy and Sicily. On the ground that the kings who had preceded him had never done homage, William through Lanfranc plainly refused to accede to the demand of Gregory VII.

William's ecclesiastical policy was that of an arbitrary man who at the same time was resolved to rule justly and to keep within the limits of the law. He dealt in no petty peculation of church property by keeping bishoprics and abbacies vacant in order to seize their revenues; but he made it plain that he would brook no questioning of his authority. Every bishop had to do homage for his estates and to discharge all his feudal obligations. As King, he practically appointed to all the higher posts in the church by his ability to refuse to "invest" any person of whom he disapproved. He seems to have deferred much to Lanfranc, for whose opinion he had a great respect, but to have exercised full authority in ecclesiastical matters.

Under Norman influence the Church in England was brought into closer relations with Europe and lost some of its distinctive features. It was no longer allowed to continue its undefined relation to the State. The Bishop for example no longer sat in judgment with the Earl, nor held his see without conditions. He had a court of his own separate from the lay tribunals; for the Church was recognised as an *imperium in imperio*, a self-governing institution. At the same time no ecclesiastic was allowed to forget his feudal obligations. Like every other landowner, the Bishop or Abbot had to become the "King's man" and do homage for his territories. He was equally bound to equip troops for the King's service. Before the eleventh century closed, it was apparent that the Church had gained by being no longer isolated. Great cathedrals began to arise, abbeys were being endowed. A famous man in Lanfranc sat on the throne of Canterbury, to be succeeded by one even more celebrated in the person of St. Anselm; and, though they were Italians, their presence in England was in itself sufficient to act as an inspiration to the clergy as well as to increase the reputation of the Church.

There was, however, another side to the picture, which became manifest when the strong hand of the Conqueror was removed. His successor, William Rufus, possessed much of his ability, but little of his strength of character or sense of rec-

titude. If William I had ruled the Church, it was in the interest of his authority, rather than of his cupidity. William II saw profit in keeping the church under his control and exhausted every legal device to extract money from its estates. The way he kept the bishoprics vacant, till he could find some one to make it worth his while to appoint, was a scandal to Christendom. This is the key to the whole story of Anselm's election to the See of Canterbury and of his appeal to Rome against the King of England.

On the death of Lanfranc at a great age in 1089, William Rufus, who had respected and followed the advice of the Archbishop, kept the See vacant for several years and used the revenues for his own purposes. This was due to a definite policy inaugurated by the king's adviser, Ralph Flambard, who strained feudal law to the utmost limit in order to find funds for his master. During the vacancy of a "benefice" the King administered its revenues in his own interests and thus Flambard is described as desiring to make the king "every-man's heir." Till 1095 Canterbury had been without an Archbishop, but in that year William fell ill and there seemed little hope of his recovery. The prospect of death induced him to consent to the appointment of a primate; and as it was probable that he would soon be where he could neither profit by the revenues of the vacant see, nor be inconvenienced by the chair being filled by a man of high principle, the King accepted Anselm, who was then in England as the guest of Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester. The unexpected recovery of William led to a serious dispute between the monarch and the See of Canterbury. In the early days of his reign William, who was devoted to the memory of his father, had revered Lanfranc as his friend and adviser; and Lanfranc, a shrewd man of the world, had understood that the new king could be managed, but not driven. Anselm, on the other hand, was before all things a student and a monk with a singularly sensitive conscience. With his refined nature he was incapable of understanding how to deal with a master, coarse-fibred, and immoral, but not entirely destitute of good impulses. The result was that

after a stormy interview at Rockingham Castle, Anselm was driven from England and took refuge with Pope Urban II.

Anselm has often been unjustly criticised for his behaviour towards William II and Henry I. It is true that he spent most of his primacy (1095–1109) out of England, that he appealed against the laws of the country to the Pope, and that his general attitude throughout was what would now be called ultramontane. But to judge men by the light of events which happened centuries later is not the part of an historian, whose duty it is as far as possible to put himself in the place of the person he is describing and to realise the circumstances of his age. Anselm, it must be remembered, was not only a foreigner to the conquered English, but also to the conquering Normans. He was an Italian, who had found a home in Normandy; he was honoured by those who had made their home in England, and by their influence was made Archbishop of Canterbury. As a stranger called to rule over an alien Christian community, as a philosopher and a Christian ascetic, compelled against his will to undertake responsibilities distasteful to him, Anselm looked upon the province assigned to him as part of the Catholic Church of Christ of which the Pope was the universally acknowledged head. This attitude made him sympathetic with Norman and Saxon alike as Christian men, but to demand that he should show himself patriotic, or even Anglican, is to require that he should have lived some centuries later. His only conception of duty in his day must have been to guard the Church from the oppression of William II and what he regarded as the illegalities of Henry I, and to take his orders from the Roman See.

Anselm's dispute with William Rufus turned on the King's claim in the event of a disputed election to the Papacy to recognise whichever pope it suited him to acknowledge, and to allow no ecclesiastic to submit to either candidate till he should have made up his mind. By his hesitation he was able to keep Anselm for a time from obtaining the *pallium*, which was necessary before he could exercise his metropolitan jurisdiction. When this matter had been adjusted, the King re-

fused the Archbishop permission to hold a council to reform the disorders of the time. It was therefore as an oppressed bishop, hindered in the discharge of his plain duties, that Anselm appealed to Urban II. With Henry I the insistence of the King to demand the ceremonies of investiture, when these had been condemned by the Church, was a natural cause of trouble to Anselm, who as Archbishop felt compelled to refuse assent to a custom which had now become ecclesiastically illegal. In this affair Henry I showed himself the better negotiator; and peace was made between England and the Papacy before the question of investitures had been settled with the Empire at great cost of blood and treasure.

Before, however, going into the question of the relations of England with the Roman See it is interesting to see how rapidly the Church in one respect became nationalised. It was the policy of the Conqueror to fill the highest offices of the Church with clergy imported from the Continent. The first four Archbishops of Canterbury were foreigners, and the first native of England was Thomas Becket, who was born in London, and made Primate in 1162. His successor was a Norman; and after him Canterbury was only once held by a foreigner in Boniface of Savoy, the most hated man in England. Of the seven archbishops appointed in the thirteenth century five of the seven were of obscure origin, and consequently it may be inferred were of Saxon blood. So completely does the racial distinction between the conquering Normans and the vanquished English appear to have been obliterated, at any rate in the Church.

This had important results. As has been already indicated, the kings of England from the Conqueror to Henry III were generally European potentates, fully as much interested in their continental dominions as in their island kingdom. This prevented the monarch from being regarded by his Norman baronage as their natural leader, under whom the subject Saxons were to be held in thraldom; since, as the Plantagenets were not even Norman, the English nobility realised that it was their interest to maintain their independence by having

the people on their side, which made the fusion of races more complete. At the same time the Church acted as a powerful agency in uniting the two peoples into one nation, the clergy being drawn from both; and the native element, as is indicated in the origin of so many of the Primates, becoming more than ever in the ascendant. There was nothing anti-Roman in all this, but it shows that a national sentiment was tending to form one people, singularly jealous of their legal rights.

The famous quarrel of Henry II and Thomas Becket is significant of the rise of this national spirit, and the enormous popularity of the saint was due not merely to the miracles which followed his tragic death, but to the fact that he resisted the arbitrary will of a non-English monarch.

Becket's career is a good example of what the life of a churchman of his age might be. Trained as a lawyer, he received the tonsure; but did not proceed to priest's orders. As Archdeacon of Canterbury he conducted the business of Archbishop Theobald and received a number of minor clerical emoluments which made him a rich man. His enemies charged him with utter worldliness in his youth, but his moral character was, as is apparent from their silence, beyond reproach. The Archbishop recommended him to Henry II; and as chancellor, not then a judicial office, he was practically the chief minister of the King. He distinguished himself as a soldier in France, and was regarded as virtually a layman enriched by the benefices of the Church.

As a minister of the crown Becket had steadily supported the royal authority which had been directed to the restoration of order in England after the horrible anarchy of the reign of Stephen. He was by many regarded as the enemy of the Church. His nomination and election to the Primacy was generally considered as a scandalous exercise of the King's influence in favour of a man, who though richly endowed by Church preferments could, only by courtesy, be considered as a clergyman at all. Becket, however, took his position with the utmost seriousness, and from the day of his consecration was

determined to prove the champion of the church over which he had been called to preside.

The quarrel of Becket and Henry II involved many interests, and the merits of the case can be judged as far as possible by an impartial consideration of the circumstances of the age. Henry II was a singularly able and sagacious prince, who held and increased his vast dominions with consummate political skill rather than by military ability. He was subject to gusts of passion, expressed in furious gestures, and at times depriving him of the power of self-control. When these were over he resumed his task with his wonted prudence—a prudence which frequently took the form of profound dissimulation. In Becket he met his match in courage and tenacity of purpose which in the Archbishop was combined with a strong sense of duty.

In a sense Henry II was a reformer. His ideal was, doubtless, to have in his kingdom of England a government under his control, a unified government doing equal justice to all. The great obstacle to this was the Church, then a body including a much larger proportion of the population than at present, each member of which was a privileged person, amenable only to its jurisdiction. As all reforms are apt to strain the laws and customs of a country, Becket was inflexible in maintaining the legal rights of the clergy, not merely of the prelates of the realm, but of the humblest doorkeeper of a church, all of whom were subject to the Courts Christian. According to the principles of ecclesiastical law the penalty of death could not be inflicted by the Church, and consequently the worst offender could only be subjected to a mild sentence, however atrocious his crime.

The grievance between the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction came to a head in the affair of Philip de Brois, a canon of Bedford, who had been condemned by his bishop to pay the family of the man he had murdered a compensation for the crime. Later the King's Justiciary openly charged him with being a murderer, and was insulted in open court. The King ordered de Brois to be indicted in the spiritual court for his contempt, and the judge sentenced him to be whipped, and

his benefice sequestrated. This mild sentence gave great offence to the King, who demanded of the clergy that every delinquent clerk should first be degraded and then handed over to the royal judges for punishment. The reply of the bishops was that this would place the clergy of England in a far worse position than they were in every other country. The next question to the clergy was whether they would observe "the custom of the realm." To this Becket as their head said yes, "saving his order." This provoked the King's wrath, and was the prelude to the struggle which ensued.

The King declared what these "customs" were in the Constitutions promulgated at Clarendon, whither the great Council of the nation assembled after Christmas 1163. In many of these there were innovations intended to extend the royal authority as well as to remedy abuses. They were sixteen in number; the most important show the relations between the Church and Crown of England. Among them are the following:

Disputes between the clergy and the laity about presentations are to be brought before the King's courts.

A clerk accused of a crime is to be summoned to the King's court to answer there for whatever is determined, and to the Church court for whatever is determined he should answer there. The King's justice is to be represented in the Church court when the case is tried. If the clerk shall confess or be convicted, the Church shall not protect him.

Archbishops, bishops and other exalted persons may not leave the realm without the King's leave.

The laity are only to be accused in the presence of the bishop by certain and legal accusers. If they are so powerful that no one is willing to appear, the sheriff, on demand from the bishop, is to summon twelve loyal men from the district.

No servant in chief or servant of the King's household may be excommunicated, or his land laid under an interdict, till the King, or in his absence, his Justiciary, has been consulted.

No appeal may go further than the Archbishop's court without the King's consent.

Vacant benefices, like bishoprics and abbeys, are to be held by the King. When the time comes for election the King shall recommend the best person and the election shall be made in the King's Chapel with his consent and the advice of the persons he shall summon. The elected person shall do homage and fealty.

It would require much time to relate how Becket first accepted the Constitutions, and then refused to affix his seal to them, how he bitterly repented his weakness, how he defied the King at Northampton and fled to France. There Louis VII received him with honour, and Pope Alexander III played a double game in attempting the difficult task of supporting Becket and not offending Henry II. Nor is it here necessary to enter into the complicated story of Becket's negotiations with Henry, his return to England, the monarch's rash words, and the archbishop's tragic death at the altar of his cathedral church. It is well known that miracles proved that death to have been a martyrdom; indeed the cultus of St. Thomas became most popular north of the Alps. After his death Henry II performed a humiliating penance at the grave of the martyr, and that the King was pardoned was attested by the news, brought during his recovery from his severe "discipline," that the King of Scotland was defeated and a prisoner. But the most important matter is the significance of the whole incident.

Party feeling has so entered into this ancient controversy between Henry and Becket that it is generally thought that the King was a champion of law and order against clerical arrogance. It is often forgotten that the majority of the bishops were opposed to Becket and that one of the reasons for his murder was that he had issued bulls excommunicating his suffragans for crowning Henry II's son King of England, when he, the Primate, was absent. The rulers of the Church, who were assuredly not backward in asserting their privileges, did not regard Becket as their champion; and his bitterest enemy, John of Oxford, was after the martyrdom rewarded with a bishopric. Becket stood for what he believed to be the

law of the Church and was ready to die in its defence. Now whatever we may think of clerical legislators, it cannot be denied that the criminal law of the Church was in theory greatly in advance of that of the customs, often unwritten, of which the King's law mainly consisted. Its object was, that which is now commonly declared to be the end of all punitive legislation, not to exact vengeance for the crime but to improve the criminal. If it seems monstrous in these days that the clergy should be under one law and the laity under another, the anomaly of class legislation was not perceived in the Middle Ages. Moreover, the Church represented an unarmed population, and might at any time be despoiled by a licentious baronage unless the persons of the clergy and their possessions were not specially safeguarded by laws which gave them protection by excommunication and interdict. Further the clergy were the sworn protectors of the poor, the miserable, and the oppressed, and their immunities sheltered those under their protection. Such things as benefit of clergy, sanctuary and the like became in later days pernicious anomalies or intolerable nuisances, but they were not so intended: in a barbarous age they imposed a certain restraint to the benefit of the wretched. Becket was fighting no selfish quarrel when he espoused the cause of the clergy, although he was in the wrong in not recognising the necessity of proceeding against the clerical criminal class which had wrought such disorder in the previous reign. Possibly, however, so able and vigorous a man would as Primate have made his hand felt in dealing with their crimes.

When it is remembered that the story of Becket's death thrilled the whole Christian world, that it was told and retold in every form, including that of the Icelandic Saga, that miracles almost daily asserted his sanctity, and that the shrine made Canterbury a most famous place of pilgrimage, it is wonderful how little real effect resulted from it. Those who read English history, and neglect the story of the Papacy, find it difficult to understand the attitude of Pope Alexander III. They are ignorant of the dangerous position of the pontiff, and the necessity of retaining an ally so powerful as Henry II in

his struggle with Frederic Barbarossa. The Pope's zeal for Becket's cause varied with his prospects but he could not afford to risk the very existence of the Papacy for a domestic quarrel in so distant a country as England, especially when the Church itself was profoundly divided on the question at issue. On the whole in the disputes between the English clergy and their kings the popes tried to prove themselves judicious and conciliatory. In the next century their attitude was more interested.

Though Becket was solemnly canonized as a martyr by Alexander III, the Constitutions of Clarendon were not condemned by the Pope nor repealed by the King. The power and influence of the Church was not increased, and the penance of Henry was accepted as an adequate atonement for the crime, which, if he did not commit, he was partly responsible.

The next dispute on ecclesiastical matters in England was due to the difficulties incident on the election of an Archbishop of Canterbury. For two centuries after the Conquest there is hardly a single instance of the choice of a Primate being made without dispute. It is very difficult to say exactly by whom a bishop was chosen in primitive times. On the whole perhaps Clement of Rome's phrase, "With the consent of the whole church," expresses the fact that originally the officials of a church were elected by the faithful. Canterbury, however, was not merely a cathedral church, for Augustine was not only the archbishop, but the abbot of the community of monks which he had brought with him. These claimed the privilege of electing their own abbot and therefore of choosing the primate of the greater part of Britain. But almost invariably the King had a voice in the matter and the Conqueror, as has been indicated, insisted on his right to veto any election.

It is noteworthy that after Anselm almost every election was a subject of controversy, and often the vacancies were protracted for years. The monks of Christ Church were obliged to hold the election in the King's court, and had therefore to delegate certain of their number to represent them. The King naturally claimed a voice in the matter; so did the bishops of

the Province, as they were at least as interested in who should preside over them as the monks. On the whole the choice of the Abbey was seldom a happy one. Societies of this kind seldom want the best man, but prefer someone whom they hope they can manage, and perhaps like to create a vacancy in their body which will entail a general move up of subordinate officials. As a rule the King desired to appoint a man of conspicuous merit, and wisely restrained the freedom of the monks. The permission to elect was often limited, the King suggesting on whom the choice of the monks should fall. When there was a deadlock the Pope was generally consulted; and seems to have tried honestly to select the best man for the post. In no single instance was a complete stranger to the country ever appointed, with the exception of Boniface of Savoy. Lanfranc and Anselm were well known to the Normans, and those not born in England had lived there for some time, and taken part in its church affairs. One attempt had been made to secure a really representative electoral body, when Baldwin in the reign of Richard I tried to found a collegiate church at Hackington; but the monks of Christ Church carried an appeal to Rome and foiled the Archbishop. On the whole, like other anomalies in England, the system was objectionable, but did not work badly, and secured the country a series of capable, respectable and on the whole, usefully average Primates.

On the death of Hubert Walter in 1205 there was the usual trouble as to the election of a successor. The monks elected the sub-prior Reginald and sent him to be consecrated. This had been done by some of the younger monks, who desired to steal a march on the King by a private election. They hoped that Reginald would return consecrated by the Pope, and invested with the pall to preside over the province of Canterbury. Innocent III, suspecting that all was not regular, told Reginald to remain in Rome, and soon another delegation arrived to announce that King John had set aside Reginald, and ordered the monks to elect the Bishop of Norwich. Innocent III quashed both elections, and commanded the monks

to choose an Englishman at Rome, Stephen Langton, Cardinal of St. Chrysogonus. John's refusal to accept Langton as archbishop was the cause of the interdict.

Many acts of this illustrious pontiff, even when judged by the standards of the thirteenth century, are indefensible, but the laying of England under an interdict does not appear to be one of them. Arbitrary as he often showed himself to be, it is difficult to believe that Innocent III was actuated by unworthy motives, or that he did not labour sincerely to restore order in the Church. Since the death of the Conqueror the conduct of his successors in keeping sees vacant in order to enjoy their revenues had been an open scandal, and, by making the whole country feel the effects of the misdoings of the monarch, the Pope may have thought that he was employing the most efficacious means of bringing an intolerable state of affairs to an end.

The interdict lasted for four years and was only partially observed. John seized the goods of the clergy who obeyed, and arrested the women who lived with some as their wives. His government during this period was marked by a vigorous policy towards both Ireland and Scotland, and by some successes abroad. For the fact is often ignored that, though this king lost Normandy, and acquired a character worse than that of any other English monarch, he was a man of great ability, as is shown in the dexterity with which he foiled the schemes of Philip Augustus. Innocent III had excommunicated John, absolved his vassals from their allegiance, and offered Philip Augustus the same privilege as Alexander II had bestowed on Duke William of Normandy, the right to conquer England, if he could. John suddenly submitted to the Pope's ambassador, a Roman sub-deacon named Pandulf, surrendered his crown and became the liegeman of Innocent III. He took the Cross and promised if opportunity should offer to go on a crusade himself. He thus became, albeit the subject, the client of the most powerful influence in the world, and the interdicts and excommunications, with which he had been smitten, were now ready to fall on the heads of his enemies.

Dr. Lingard, the Roman Catholic historian of England, whilst admitting the baseness of this transaction, points out that it cannot in the light of the ideas of the age be regarded as severely as it would have been in later days. Other princes had become feudatories of the Pope, and John himself owed allegiance to Philip Augustus for his French dominions. The same historian suggests that John may have been forced to take this step by his barons who preferred to have an impartial tribunal to appeal to, in the event of their being oppressed by their King.

Anyhow the league against John immediately dissolved, and he in turn became the aggressor against Philip Augustus. The defeat, however, of the allied army at Bouvines, 1213, put an end to the hopes of John in Europe.

From this time there set in a steady and persistent reaction in England against the Papal policy in Europe and ultimately against the Papacy itself. Innocent III made a fatal mistake of taking the side of John in opposition to the barons and even to his own nominee, the Primate Stephen Langton. The condemnation of Magna Charta, which had been wrung with such difficulty from John, created a feeling in England that the Pope was opposed to the liberties of the country and this was intensified, when the anti-national policy of Henry III was upheld by several pontiffs. This discontent finds expression in the writing of Matthew Paris, the monk of St. Albans. Not that England was in any way heretical, or disposed to question the supremacy of the Pope or the doctrines of the Church. There was nothing of the reformer in such a man as Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, the patron of the growing schools of Oxford and of the Friars. The grievances were that the Popes Italian, and their anti-German policy, with which England had no concern, proved constant drain on the revenues of the Church, that money was taken out of the realm to further useless and impossible schemes for the aggrandisement of the royal family, such as Richard of Cornwall's election to the Empire, and Henry's acceptance of the crown of Sicily from the Pope for his son Edmund. The taxes imposed by the Popes on England

were aggravated by the attempts to make its benefices a means of paying salaries to non-resident Italians; and this and much else tended to foster a national spirit, at first directed against foreigners, and, finally, against the Roman See.

The policy of Edward I of England was in some respects analogous to that of his rival Philip the Fair, inasmuch as he made his first object the consolidation of his own kingdom. His idea was to make himself absolute master of the whole of Britain, for which purpose he undertook the subjugation of Wales, and the reduction of Scotland to an acknowledged position of dependence. He also endeavoured to strengthen his position by the aid of his lawyers, and to diminish the power of the feudal nobility by his support of the burgesses. Under him Parliament began to exist in a definite form, and he was forced to recognise at least the principle that the people must be taxed with their consent of their representatives.

The three estates of the realm are Clergy, Lords and Commons; but the present arrangement of two Houses of Parliament is in a measure fortuitous and there might well have been three, the great barons in one, the lesser, or knights of the shire in another, and the burgesses in the third. But the clergy in the Middle Ages was the most important of all the divisions of the realm, not only in intelligence, but also in their superior wealth. It is, however, in the absence of statistics almost impossible to speak definitely on the financial condition of the clerical order. They were certainly rich and their standard of life was higher than that of the laity, but as a rule the statements as to the immense property owned by them are exaggerated by jealousy. Even in the year 1400 the House of Commons estimated that there were forty thousand benefices in England when there were not more than a quarter of that number. As a matter of fact the Church in England had prelates and dignitaries with vast revenues, and also an inferior clergy on the verge of poverty. But a great prelate or abbot had to maintain an almost royal state, and needed all he possessed to feed and clothe the retinue necessary to his office. Assuredly the clergy were heavily taxed. Both Pope and

King made heavy demands on them. Sometimes a tenth, a fifth, even half of their revenues was relinquished. Thus their House, afterwards known as Convocation, had to consider the question of taxation in the same manner as the lay Parliaments. Originally there were four houses of Bishops, Abbots, Deans and Arch-deacons, and Clergy.

As there were two ecclesiastical provinces of Canterbury and York, there were two independent Convocations, each under its own Primate, but the importance of York was insignificant indeed compared with that of Canterbury. The north of England was in many parts almost without inhabitants and was only slowly recovering from the harrying of Northumbria by the Conquerors. There were, since 1133, but two suffragans of York, Durham and Carlisle, whereas few archbishops in Europe had more than Canterbury with its seventeen dependent Sees. In speaking, therefore, of Convocation, that of the Southern Province is often meant, whilst the fact that the Northern also has one is forgotten. The property of the Church of England down to the seventeenth century continued to be taxed by the two Convocations, consisting later of the bishops in one of the houses, and Deans, Archdeacons, and representatives of the Cathedral chapters and clergy in the other. The story of the thirteenth century is a record of constant demands made by the King or the Pope on the revenues of the Church.

The clergy were not eager to contribute to either. They had as little sympathy with the Pope's schemes against the Empire as they had with those of Edward I for the recovery of Guienne, which provoked the remonstrances of the great Earls of Norfolk and Hereford. This grievance on the part of the clergy may have led to the promulgation of Boniface VIII's bull *Clericis laicos*, which caused so much trouble in England and brought vengeance on the Pope from France.

It must not be forgotten that every clerical corporation, as well as every individual holding a benefice, was a trustee. The church lands had been given to God and were inalienable. It also might be pleaded that they were held for the benefit of

the poor, who certainly profited by the benefactions of the clergy and monks, and that the money ought not to be devoted to secular purposes. Boniface VIII sought to protect the clergy against exaction by forbidding them to pay taxes without the consent of the Pope. He did so in the most provocative manner, as the opening words of the bull testify. "Antiquity has told us that the laity have been from of old troublesome to the clergy."

The English clergy were well aware that their monarch was not a man to be trifled with and that it was impossible to obey the Pope's command. The Primate, Robert of Winchelsea, however, was determined to resist Edward I, who forthwith outlawed the clergy, declaring that if they would not contribute to the maintenance of the realm they should not have the benefit of the protection of his officers. The obnoxious bull had therefore no effect.

Though Edward I had been a Crusader and had been always a devoted son of the Church, his policy foreshadowed that of his successors in limiting its power. As the royal revenues depended partly on the vast estates of the Crown and also on the many feudal dues occurring on the death of his tenants and on wardships and marriages, any acquisition of a corporate body, which never dies, was to the prejudice of the King. Land held thus was said to be held by the dead hand (in mortmain), and this was prevented for the future by the statute *de viris religiosis*, which forbids lands to be transferred to monasteries or similar institutions to the detriment of the Crown. This is the earliest statute of Mortmain.[1] The whole legislation and general attitude of Edward I towards the Church

[1] It is most instructive for the student to examine three maps in the Historical Atlas of Modern Europe: (1) England and Wales in 1086, (2) in the reign of Edward I, (3) under the House of Lancaster. (1) and (3) are by James Tait, M.A., and (2) by Professor Tout. In these the great landowning families and their estates are indicated. Very few of the names of those who held land under the Conqueror are repeated in 1290. By 1455 almost all the great families, Beauchamp (of Warwick), Bohun, Bigod, Clare, Lacy, Mortimer and Warenne, have disappeared and a new aristocracy has arisen. The fact that the old Norman houses were so short lived may account for the rapid progress of the fusion of the two races.

shows how rapidly the royal influence had been on the increase. This was aided by the subsequent misfortunes of the Popes and their exile to Avignon. The days of excommunication and interdicts when sovereigns trembled were passing away. Little is heard after Winchelsey of Primates defying the sovereign.

This very brief survey of the ecclesiastical history of England will have shown how marked the change had been from the time of the Conquest to the death of Edward I. One of the most visible effects of the coming of the Normans and the revival of the Church under their influence remains to this day in the cathedrals. Almost every important cathedral church reveals its Norman origin. The rich architecture of clerestory of lady-chapel of west front and presbytery may belong to later periods, but the naves are often severely Norman with their substantial pillars and their romanesque arches. Outside the architecture may suggest the richer designs of a later date, but the kernel of all is the work of the builders who came with the conquerors in the eleventh century.

The year after the Conquest the Saxon cathedral at Canterbury was burned down; and Lanfranc on his appointment found it in ruins. He at once set to work to rebuild it and he is said to have completed it in seven years. Even during Anselm's days with all their troubles the work went on under the Priors Ernulf and Conrad (1093–1130). The first duty of every bishop seems to have been to erect a cathedral superior to anything which had hitherto been known in the island.

York like Canterbury had its Saxon Church destroyed by fire in 1069; and the whole diocese had been devastated by the Conqueror, so that not a single religious house was left in it. No sooner was a Norman Archbishop, Thomas of Bayeux, appointed than he built the cathedral, but his work did not endure; for Walter de Gray (1216–1255) rebuilt it in the then prevailing Gothic style.

Far more permanent was the work of William of St. Carilef, Bishop of Durham, where the body of St. Cuthbert had re-

posed since 999. The Conqueror, seeing the strategic importance of the place, had built the castle, and the Bishop made his cathedral one of the enduring glories of England. He began but two years before his death in 1095. He is said to have designed the choir, "one of the greatest things done even in an age of giants." The next Bishop was Flambard, the infamous minister of William Rufus, who had finished the nave and built part of the western towers by his death in 1128. Nothing can better illustrate the character of the men who subjected England than the strength and magnificence of Durham.

Norwich and Lincoln, two other cathedrals of Sees removed from villages to places of commercial or strategic importance, attest the skill of the new episcopate as builders. The East Anglican bishopric, after having been situated at Elmham and moved since the Conquest, was finally in 1095 transferred to Norwich. Here the Conqueror had built a castle and established a market; and the place, commanding as it did the internal navigation of Norfolk, grew to be one of the most important cities in the Kingdom. Hither Herbert de Losinga removed the See from Thetford and set to work to build a magnificent cathedral with a monastery for sixty monks. To this day the plan of Losinga's cathedral remains to illustrate a Norman church in the eleventh century, with the bishops' throne in its original place facing the people and overlooking the high altar, and the nave one of the longest in England. Lincoln was in the district which had suffered worse from the ravages of the Danes, and the original see of Lindsay had been moved to Dorchester in Oxfordshire, to the other end of the diocese. It was transferred to Lincoln, a place of great strategic importance, by Remigius in 1075; and by 1092, the cathedral, now one of the most magnificent in the country, was dedicated.

It would be impossible to omit the name of one of the most famous builders of the early Norman age, Gundulf, Bishop of Rochester, a friend of Lanfranc, who had been nominated to his see which was in the gift of the Primate. He restored his ruined Cathedral, and was employed by the Conqueror to

build the White Tower in the Tower of London, and, in the days of William Rufus, Rochester Castle.

The above does little more than suggest the change that came over England in respect to Church building alone since the coming of the Normans; and, it may be added, since the security they had brought by making Danish invasions impossible. The monasteries and other religious houses almost equalled, if some did not surpass, the cathedrals, and the fact that these became numerous, not only in the south, but in the devastated north, proves that there had been great progress in national prosperity.

The impulse given by the Normans was continued throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; but the ground plans of such famous Norman churches which were either cathedrals or subsequently became so, indicate that the main structures were completed not very long after the Conquest. The adjuncts belong to later ages up to the Reformation; but the most important parts were already there. To mention but a few, it was so with Ely, Norwich, Durham, Peterborough (the west front dates from the thirteenth century), and Salisbury (built between 1220 and 1258). One cannot fail to be amazed at the creative vigour of this period.

In addition to the energy with which cathedrals and monasteries were designed and constructed is the intellectual activity which has been elsewhere mentioned. The universities had appeared; and Englishmen were making their mark both as teachers and students in the world school of Paris. Education was conducted on sound and truly democratic lines, being neither forced on an unwilling proletariat, nor restricted to a privileged class. Never were more boundless prospects of power and influence open before any youth of promise. Men of humble birth, but almost invariably of exceptional ability, rose to be Popes. The Archbishopric of Canterbury, which had precedence over all others in the world, and gave the holder the place at a council at the right foot of the Pope, as well as authority over all his sovereign's foreign churches, was often attained by prelates whose parents were too obscure to be

mentioned in their biographies. Yet these humbly born men raised to the highest positions seem to have comported themselves with dignity, and this may be attributed in a measure to the careful discipline under which they had been trained, and says much for the monasteries as places of education. It was this power of throwing open a career to all that kept the church in touch with the people in both France and England. In Germany it was otherwise, owing to the way in which the most important ecclesiastical positions gave the incumbent sovereign rank, and therefore cut him completely out of popular sympathy as the member of an exclusive aristocracy.

In the difficulties which arose with the Roman See there is a perceptible change. At first nearly every interference by the Pope was beneficial. So far as his Italian policy was unaffected by his action, he was a just and impartial arbitrator. Able as were many of the Norman ecclesiastics, they were no match for such princes as William Rufus, Henry II, or John, nor were they capable of stemming the anarchy of the reign of Stephen. It was no small advantage to them to be able to refer their cause to an external tribunal, which knew how to make itself respected. Down to the surrender of John to Paudulf, the agent of Innocent III, the growing patriotism of England found a friend in the Pope, whose intervention in the matters of Becket and Stephen Langton was discreet, in that it tried to reconcile parties mutually aggrieved and to bring about a reasonable compromise. Innocent III made a fatal mistake in condemning Magna Charta, and his successors aggravated matters by making the weak Henry III a tool in their enterprises in Italy and Sicily. This fostered an independence of spirit which found expression in the acts of Simon de Montfort, and the writings of Matthew Paris.

In Edward I there appeared for the first time an English King. That sagacious monarch saw the importance of his kingdom, and had profited by the lessons of his father's reign by learning to respect the feelings of its inhabitants. His object to make himself the paramount authority in the entire island brought him into conflict with the Scots, under conditions

which interest the ecclesiastical as well as the secular historian.

Just as the English kings owed feudal dependence for Normandy and other continental possessions to the king of France, so did the Scottish king acknowledge the overlordship of the English crown, possibly for lands held by him in England. But it was easy for a superior to claim that his vassal owed him homage in respect for estates or kingdoms which he had acquired elsewhere. Thus the King of France might assert that the King of England, and not merely the Duke of Normandy, was his vassal, and the King of England might make a similar claim, not only on the Earl of Huntington, but on the same person as King of Scotland. But however this may be, the Scottish King seems to have recognised the English as his liege lord, and Edward I acted in that capacity.

The death of the Maid of Norway in 1290 left the Scottish throne open to a number of nobles, none of whom could claim direct royal descent. Edward acted as arbitrator and finally decided in favour of John Baliol, Lord of Galloway, the undoubted heir, as he was descended from the eldest daughter of David, Earl of Huntington, brother of King William the Lion. Baliol did homage for the crown; but his subjects, provoked by the feudal demands of Edward, raised a rebellion which was crushed by the English. Baliol was condemned to an easy imprisonment, from which he was liberated at the request of the Pope, and died some years later almost unnoticed. Scotland was completely subdued by Edward, till the patriotism of William Wallace gave the country a brief period of independence under his regency. The Scots then appealed to Boniface VIII, denying that their crown had ever been dependent on that of England, because of right it was an *allodium* of the Roman Church. Boniface wrote to Edward urging him to abandon his unjust claims over a fief of the Holy See and argued that any homage done by the Kings of Scotland to the English monarch had been for other possessions which they happened to hold. The whole incident is a remarkable example of the anxiety shown by both parties to prove that their claims

were legal. Edward ordered every document in his kingdom to be collected, which could throw light on the point at issue. Parliament answered the Pope that they would not permit the king, even if he wished it, to abandon his rights over Scotland; and Edward appealed to the voice of history to justify his claim. In the days of Eli and Samuel, Brute the Trojan had cleared Albion of giants and called it Britain after his own name. He divided his kingdom between his three sons, Locrine, Albanac, and Camber, giving preëminence to the elder Locrine, who established his throne in London. The Scots advanced an historical plea of equal weight. They are the offspring of Scota, daughter of Pharaoh, whose descendants settled in Northern Ireland, and wrested Scotland from the descendants of Brute. Arguments more cogent to us were advanced, and the serious care to put Edward in the right as to his claim shows that in a violent and warlike age force was deemed inferior to a claim justified by law. It was by other means, however, that the complete independence of Scotland was secured.

The reign of Henry II was marked by England's entering into direct relations with Ireland, the Norman conquest of which is one of the most unfortunate episodes in history. With all its cruel severity that of England had the merit of being systematic, and was guided by a master mind. The most horrible of William's acts, like the harrying of Northumbria, was dictated by at least some sort of policy: for by leaving the north a desert, the Conqueror aimed at securing the south from invasion. Moreover, William was able in a measure to control his barons, and to settle them in his new dominions in such a way as to make it impossible for any of them to set up independent principalities. The conquered country had from of old laws and institutions, suitable to a civilized people, which were cherished with pride and affection by its inhabitants, and were studiously respected by their conquerors. Circumstances also made the fusion of the French and English into one people take place rapidly; and this was aided by the fact that the French speaking Norman was fundamentally of the same blood as the Danes and Anglo-Saxons who made the English

speaking race. But it was otherwise with Ireland; the main part of the inhabitants were in a far lower state of civilization than the invaders, and their institutions were based on a tribal law of their own. The invasion was somewhat of the nature of an adventurous enterprise, made without definite plan or system, and brought with it few compensating advantages. The Normans at least gave England the best civilization of the time; they brought over their best clergy as well as their best soldiers, and their coming was the signal for the revival of religion, culture and learning. They held down the Saxon population, and were guilty of acts of enormous tyranny, but they imposed respect; and in the end adopted their language, and the best of their institutions. Edward I at least conquered the Welsh, who retained their language and many of their national prejudices, but were little galled by the contempt with which the Irish were regarded. With Scotland the country was for a time subdued by England; but the national spirit produced heroic deliverers in men like Moray, Wallace and the Bruces, who after all were of the same blood as their oppressors. In Ireland it was otherwise. There was no great national effort for freedom, and at the same time no real permanent subjugation. The Conqueror had the wisdom to see that the Crown of England was his greatest possession; and devoted his energies to securing the permanence of his rule. But there was no such thoroughness displayed in the Conquest of Ireland. The Norman barons did not attempt to raise the people to a higher level; on the whole they tended to adopt the lower civilization and to become more Irish than the Irish *Hiberniores Hibernis*. They held districts, but not the whole country. A real Anglo-Norman conquest would have been an untold blessing to the land, whose fertile fields and unrivalled harbours would have made it prosperous, whilst its people under a firm and equitable rule would have learned to appreciate the benefits of a higher civilization. But the Plantagenets did not realise that it was as important to make Ireland one realm with England, as it was the principality of Wales. Occupied with continental and domestic affairs, they left the work

unfinished; and a conquest which would have been soon forgotten, had it been thorough, has become a perennial grievance because in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries it was incomplete.

This is not the place to dwell on the immense services rendered by the Irish Christians to religion, art and civilization in the darkest age of the Church. But it must not be forgotten that they were the most indefatigable missionaries and scholars of the age; and that the conversion of the English was due largely to their efforts, nor must the monuments of their proficiency in art, especially in their crosses and illuminated manuscripts, be ignored. But in the twelfth century the anarchy of the Church of Ireland had become a scandal. "Under native and Christian chiefs," to quote the Catholic Encyclopedia, "churches were destroyed, church lands appropriated by laymen, monastic schools deserted, lay abbots ruled at Armagh and elsewhere. Bishops were consecrated without sees and conferred orders for money, there was chaos in church government and corruption everywhere." The one bright spot in this dismal picture is the episcopate of St. Malachy, the friend of Bernard, who, as Archbishop of Armagh, did his utmost to reform matters. He died at Clairvaux in 1148, in the arms of St. Bernard, having been previously appointed Papal legate for Ireland. In 1154 Henry II obtained a bull from Hadrian IV allowing him to conquer Ireland in order to restore its ecclesiastical discipline and the due payment of Peter's pence; but nothing was done till 1168. In that year Dermot, King of Leinster, who had been driven out of the island, did homage to Henry II for his dominions, and obtained permission to enlist adventurers to assist him to recover them. Richard de Clare, surnamed Strongbow, and two Welsh gentlemen, Robert Fitz Stephen and Maurice Fitzgerald, men who were in distressed circumstances and in disgrace with their king, undertook the expedition. The Irish were no match for the mail clad Normans, who took Wexford and defeated Dermot's enemy, Donald, prince of Ossory. A heap of two hundred heads was laid at the feet of the victorious chieftain, who recognising the head of his foe, who had blinded his son, seized it and tore

off the nose with his teeth. Henry II himself visited Ireland; it was not till he had had experience of the trouble of holding what had been acquired that he bethought him of the bull of Hadrian which was read to the clergy at Cashel.

Henry, with the permission of the Pope, made his son John Lord of Ireland. In 1212 John, as King, visited Dublin to receive the homage of the native princes, established English law, and divided the occupied portion into counties. But the story of intestine feuds and abortive rebellions continued beyond the close of our period, and nothing was done in the Middle Ages to make the English government effective. Trade was carried on in the principal seaports, but the country elsewhere was seething with anarchy and barbarism. The people allied themselves with any power hostile to England, beginning with the Scots under the Bruces, for their antipathy antedates any religious difference between the two countries, nor did their common acknowledgment of the faith of the universal Church create any bond of union between them. A deeper gulf parts the two races than even that of religious opinion; and the age long quarrel has been the result of a mutual disregard of the fundamental principles of the Christian religion.

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For the early church history of England consult W. Bright, *Early English Church History*, Freeman's *Norman Conquest of England*, R. W. Church's *Life of St. Anselm*, and Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, Vols. II–III. For the Constitutional History of the Church see Makower. Dr. Lingard's *History of England*, Vol. II, ought to be read as a presentation of the period by a learned and generally fair-minded Roman Catholic. For the question of the genuineness of Hadrian IV's bull concerning Ireland, consult Mann, *Lives of the Popes;* this writer discusses its genuineness. The four most interesting contemporary writers are Ordericus Vitalis, Roger of Wendover, Matthew Paris, and Geraldus Cambrensis, all of which are translated into English in Bohn's Antiquarian library. For additional reference see Charles Gross, *Sources and Literature of English History, from the Earliest Times to about 1485*, second revised and enlarged edition, 1915.

CHAPTER XIII

A SURVEY OF SOCIETY

The past and the present — Progress — The people — Serfs — Free tenants — Feudal justice — Anarchy — Precarious condition of peasantry — General conditions of life — Castles — Outlaws — The Cities — Civic Institutions — Typical medieval cities: (a) Rome; (b) Florence; (c) Milan; (d) Pisa, Genoa, and Venice — (e) Paris and London — London — The trades in the cities — Apprentices, craftsmen, and masters — Extension of commerce — Usury — The Jews — Evasions of the law — Failure of legislation against usury — Extent of medieval commerce — The Hansas — Medieval art — The Church and art — Popular religion — Remoteness of God — Local saints — Relics — The lower clergy — The Mass — Low condition of morality — Clerical marriages — Irreverence — Difficulties of reformers — Attempts to stem superstition.

In describing the condition of humanity in a bygone age it is advisable to steer a middle course so as to avoid the Scylla of antiquity and the Charybdis of modernity. The ancients placed the golden age behind them and imagined that, when ignorant and uncomfortable, mankind was in a state of bliss. We on the contrary are disposed to believe that happiness is reserved for future generations; and, because we profess our faith in progress, imagine that men in a less advanced state of civilization than ourselves were necessarily degraded and miserable. But the historian, whose business is neither to restore the past nor to anticipate the future, need not do more than attempt to depict, as far as lies in his power, the conditions under which men lived in circumstances entirely different from his own.

Perhaps for the reason that nobody, with the rare exception of such men as Friar Bacon, believed in the material progress of the human race, the record from the opening of the eleventh to the close of the thirteenth century was one of considerable advance. Although, therefore, no reasonable man would desire to reproduce medieval conditions of life, and would be compelled to acknowledge that many of them would be in-

tolerably repulsive to him, he is compelled to admit that there was inaugurated a steady process of development to which mankind still owes a debt of gratitude.

The condition of the common people was a blot on medieval, as it is on modern, society. But their misery was due, less to an unsound theory, than to circumstances. In one respect, it was constantly improving by the gradual disappearance of serfdom; but for generations the sufferings of the lower orders did not find expression, as they did in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In the period of the wandering of the nations the plague of foreign invasion was most felt by the defenceless peasantry; when this ceased, the chief trouble was due to the general anarchy which ensued, and above all to the almost universal prevalence of private war. But by the thirteenth century, if not earlier, life was in a measure reduced to a system, under which each family had a certain fixity of tenure on the land which they cultivated. The condition of society was almost entirely agricultural, and its relationships were those of the lord to his villein.

As coin was scarce, payments were usually made in kind, or by military or laborious service. The villein held his land on condition of a payment of part of the produce, of following his lord in the wars, or of working on his estate. But he could transmit his inheritance with its obligations to his children; and legally, his position was assured. Land was regarded less as investment than as a source of power entailing much responsibility, and there was no raising of rents or capricious evictions. In an orderly society with an efficient government the condition of the peasant would have been by no means intolerable.

The lowest class of this agricultural society were the serfs (*servi*), who, however, were not slaves in the ancient or modern sense, in so far as they were not liable to be sold, nor were they regarded as chattels to be disposed of at the good pleasure of their owners. They were *glebæ adscripti*, bound to the land and not free to depart from it without consent of the lord. If they tried to escape from their settlement, the lord had the right to pursue them and take them back. They had also to

pay a capitation tax and might not marry outside the lord's lands without his consent. If a serf died without children, his land passed at once to his lord; but it might be redeemed by his kindred. If a free man occupied land held by a servile tenure, he submitted to the conditions of a serf.

The free man was subject to his lord only in so far that he held his land on certain payments in money, kind, or service. The technical term for other exactions, when the lord gave nothing in return, was *exploitation*. As a rule, however, the charges were fixed and did not change, though in early days the taxes and forced labour were at the discretion (*à merci*) of the lord. There were also many seigniorial rights, by which payments were demanded, as when a sale was made, or a fine was paid before a man could succeed to a property, or tolls were levied on roads, bridges, and ferries. There were in addition what were called *banalities*, i.e., things commanded by the *ban*, or proclamation of the lord, such as bringing the grain to his mill, the bread to his oven, or the grapes to his press, and paying a price for their use. But more oppressive than these was the *corvée*, or forced labour on the estate.

The lord, who might be any one, king, count, knight, bishop, or a corporation like a monastery, exercised judicial powers, in some instances distinguished as "high and inferior justice" (*haute et basse justice*). As the lords acted both as prosecutors and judge, their tenants were practically at their mercy; and when they held the right of the scaffold, the life of every dependant was in the hand of a master. These burthens, however, were often not intolerable, and were the less felt because relief could generally be bought. The territorial magnates usually needed ready money, and were prepared to sell their rights at a price. This was a reason for the disappearance of serfdom, as it was more advantageous to let the serfs buy their freedom than to keep them in bondage. The labourer eventually took the place of the serf.

The sufferings of the people were chiefly due to the anarchy of the age. The population was probably considerable, as where the standard of living is low, and there is no opportunity to

migrate, births are sure to be numerous, though the death rate is high. Still, according to feudal law, the tenant might enjoy the prospect of being undisturbed; and he knew tolerably certainly what he was expected to pay. But practically he was never safe; for at any moment his lands might be ravaged by a neighbouring baron at war with his master. His inability to cope with the powers of nature made him the victim of bad seasons, floods, droughts, and epidemics; he was dependent on the caprice, not so much of his legitimate landlord, as of the steward or the intendant of the manor, often one of his own class.

The peasantry throughout Europe differed as to their condition, dependence, and mode of life. Some were freeholders, others formed communities. The majority lived much as has been described. Their agriculture was very primitive, and the greater part of the countries of Europe were woods and forests, the haunts of wild beasts, the wolf being specially dreaded, owing to his number and his depredations. The cattle were diminutive and puny compared with ours, and were rarely eaten. The swine, pastured in the forests, supplied the staple of meat food. Communication was so difficult that, when one place enjoyed abundance, the next village might be starving. This may appear a somewhat exaggerated statement in view of the description of manors, especially in England, taken, it must be noted, from the estate rolls and similar documents. But as none of these are earlier than near the close of our period, or about 1265, they only show the extent of the progress alluded to above. Besides conditions in England were unusually favourable.

It can scarcely surprise anyone that a life so rude, so isolated, with hardly a prospect of change in its monotony except for the worse, fostered many strange beliefs and engendered countless superstitions. To understand the difficulties of the Church at this epoch it is necessary to bear in mind that the majority of Christians was composed of a rural population, clustered in small villages, or living precariously throughout the country, practicing a husbandry of the rudest description

and scarcely emerging from absolute barbarism. Small wonder therefore is it that there were outbreaks of religious fanaticism like the Children's Crusade, of the Flagellants, of strange heresies, and religious impostures, and that the Christianity of many was a thinly veneered paganism. Justice cannot be done either to the virtues or to the errors of the Church, the one civilizing influence which laboured among the common people, unless this be taken into account. One can only realise the terrors of an interdict by remembering that the cessation of the Church bell was believed to expose the community to the destructive effects of every thunderstorm.

The two chief causes of misery, especially in France, were the barons' castles, and the organized bands of outlaws. The castles, as has been truly remarked, in a sense saved Europe from the barbarian invasions. When the country was exposed to the ravages of Hun or Norseman, the stone fortification proved an irresistible barrier to savages impatient to plunder and be gone, but unable to remain and blockade a place strongly defended.[1] But in countries little exposed to these sudden raids, the feudal castle often became a centre of unspeakable oppression. Every history quotes the allusion to the castles, "filled with devils and not men," during the anarchy of the reign of Stephen; nor is this picture of England confined to one country or to one period of history. To the suppression of these feudal strongholds by the Plantagenets, the comparative happiness of the country was mainly due.

The outlaw has been invested with such a halo of romance, that we are apt to regard him as the enemy of the aristocracy and the friend of the oppressed poor. Not infrequently, however, the baronage countenanced and even encouraged the brigands. In one instance the people combined to suppress the evil. At Puy, in France, a carpenter incited by a vision of the Virgin, formed a society called the *capuciati*, or white-hoods, and gathered a veritable army against the lawless spoliators of their lands. For a time their success was great; but nobles and Church agreed in seeing that such a force might become

[1] Oman, *The Dark Ages*, pp. 513–514.

formidable, and a charge of heresy led to the suppression of the confraternity.

The Roman Empire had been in ancient days based on its cities rather than on its rustic population; and the country had suffered by the growth of towns. Here and there the old municipal governments survived; but the invaders had no liking for the restraint of walled cities. The progress towards a more settled order of society is seen in the gradual appearance of towns in countries where they had previously been almost unknown. One of the most convincing proofs of the salutary influence of the Crusades in promoting trade and the development of civilization is the fact that many towns grew up and obtained charters during the first part of the twelfth century, especially in Flanders and Northern France. Their growth was regarded with no little apprehension by the ruling classes. The bishops found themselves threatened by the turbulent citizens, who multiplied around their cathedrals. The nobles feared for their feudal dues; and the kings supported their nobility against the towns in which their authority was questioned. Sometimes the town won its privilege by an insurrection, but as a rule it was a matter of money. The rapidly increasing wealth of the communities enabled them to buy the privileges they sought from lords and princes who were sadly in need of funds. Naturally the great cities of Europe sprang up in the Mediterranean countries where trade was most active. Genoa, Pisa, Venice, Marseilles, Barcelona, and the Sicilian cities were full of activity in the darkest days. Both Provence and Languedoc became lands of towns, as well as Lombardy, the patriotism of whose cities helped Italy to throw off the German yoke. It has been noticed that the further a province was from the centre of imperial or royal authority the more its towns developed. This is certainly true of Provence and Lombardy, as regards the Empire, and of Languedoc in France. The citizens could, without interference, develop their own institutions in their own way.

Like the feudal domains, each town tended to become centred, with its own customs and institutions. It has been

maintained that these were as a rule survivals of the old municipal government of the Roman Empire, or were derived from the free institutions of the Germanic ancestors of the townsfolk. More probably, if we reflect that an important city like London was so utterly destroyed that not even the plan of the ancient streets survived, the constitutions of the medieval cities were the result of circumstances. Except in Southern Europe there were few large towns. In the first place the town had to be walled, and probably surrounded by a moat. This prevented expansion, and in addition the citizens were exceedingly jealous of sharing their hard won privileges with strangers. Nor would it have been possible with the absence of means of transport to feed more than could live on the produce of the land in and around the city. The inhabitants of most towns were numbered by a very few thousands, and even by hundreds. The *data* for estimating the population of any part of medieval Europe are, however, almost purely conjectural.

Equally difficult is it in the absence of evidence to reconstruct the picture of early medieval town life, especially as one city differed so greatly from another. Upon the whole, however, it may be safely asserted that the constitution was aristocratic, that is to say, the government was in the hands of the richer burghers, and that the mass of the inhabitants had small voice in its affairs, that it was administered under a complicated system which endeavoured to limit the powers of individuals, that it was divided by turbulent factions, animated by feuds one against the other, and that the authorities exercised a strict surveillance over the conduct of the citizens. As a rule the townsfolk were no match in the open field against the feudal barons and their retainers, though often able to defend their walls in time of siege.[1] Further, the citizens were very jealous of their rights and trade monopolies, which, to

[1] Sir Walter Scott in his novels may distort his facts, but scarcely ever misrepresents the spirit of the age he describes. The picture of a medieval city in the *Fair Maid of Perth* is singularly living. Simon Glover's account of how he manned the walls to defend them against the English, the attitude of Sir Patrick Charteris as Provost of the Fair City, the meeting of the burgesses to investigate a murder, the ordeal by combat, etc., give an excellent representation of civic life.

do them justice, had been usually secured by great efforts and expense on their part; and as far as possible excluded strangers from the community. Where towns grew up under the shadow of a great Abbey, or where students crowded into them, and formed a University, there was generally a standing feud between the monks or scholars and the inhabitants. The Bishop was also frequently at variance with the *citizens*, as the inhabitants of a cathedral city were styled, those of other towns being known as *burgesses*.

City life can, however, best be illustrated by taking concrete examples, of which Rome must necessarily have first place. It is in no way typical, owing to the exceptional circumstances of its history; but it has occupied so much of our attention that it is advisable to attempt to give some account of it during the period covered in these pages. The immense area enclosed within the walls of Aurelian was scantily peopled. In her palmiest days, when Rome was mistress of the world, the population has been estimated as far exceeding a million; but it is possible that in the Middle Ages it rarely reached a total of thirty thousand. Consequently we must picture to ourselves a vast mass of ancient masonry, partly in ruins, and much deliberately converted to other uses, scantily inhabited by priests, barons at feud one with another, and an idle and degraded proletariat. To such a condition had Rome been reduced by the constant revolutions and disturbances since the days of Gregory VII. The history of the period has shown how rarely a pope was to live for even a few consecutive years in the City; and it is hardly an exaggeration to say that for two centuries he was, as a rule, to be found anywhere but in Rome, which never recovered from the sack of Robert Guiscard and his Normans in 1084. The insignificance of the power of the Romans is seen in the rivalry between their city and Tusculum in the twelfth century, which takes one back to memories of the early days of the ancient Republic. In such a city there was little intellectual or commercial activity, and we must look elsewhere for indications of the progress of the civic life of the age.

Florence was a comparatively new city; and its history is interesting as showing how an Italian commonwealth emerged from feudal subjection to a position of independence. Its greatness dates from the days of Matilda of Tuscany (d. 1115), under whom a Council of good men (*boni homines*) administered its affairs, and at her death did so in the name of the people. For a long time there was war in the city between the burgesses and the noble families (*delle torre*, because they owned the houses with towers); but in the end the popular party prevailed, and the government was vested in the members of the trade guilds (*arti*). Of these there were seven greater (carpenters, wool-weavers, skinners, tanners, shoemakers, and farriers), and fourteen lesser (doctors, judges, notaries-public, money changers, etc.). To enjoy a public office it was necessary to belong to a guild; and the nobles as a rule joined that of the wool-workers.

But the great days of Florence were to come, though the city had already produced Cimabue, Giotto, and Dante, the last named of whom it had driven out and sentenced to be burned. The interest for students of this period is that Dante has described it in its ancient simplicity, and has denounced its luxury in his own day, when it was already rising to fame as one of the leading commercial cities of the world. This was due to the admirable constitution of its seven great *arti*.

Milan had already a long and glorious history ecclesiastically, as well as politically. From the days of St. Ambrose the people had been devoted to orthodoxy, which under the Arian Lombards meant patriotism, and rallied to the support of their archbishops, to whom they entrusted wide powers. The Archbishop of Milan was the greatest prince of Lombardy, and two in particular added much to the fame of their city. These were Anspert (868–881), who restored Milan to something of its former splendour,—for it had never recovered from the invasion of Attila in the fifth century,—and Heribert (1018–1045). Heribert was a warrior as well as an ecclesiastic, and first supported and afterwards opposed Conrad the Salian. Not even the papal anathema could shake the loyalty of his

people; and by their help the Archbishop was able to repel the imperial forces, and force them to raise the siege of the city. The invention of the famous *carroccio*, or car-borne standard of Milan, is due to Heribert; and this was adopted by other Italian cities. Milan was in fact the rallying point of Lombard patriotism, which reached its height when Frederic Barbarossa was defeated at Legnano in 1176. Trade prospered among its liberty-loving population, and Milan was famous throughout the world for its armour. Woollen manufacture was introduced and fostered by the religious Guild of the *Humiliati*.

The three great trading centres of Italy, which like the old Greek cities had their colonies in the Mediterranean, were Pisa, Genoa and Venice. These owed their wealth to commerce rather than to craftsmanship. Pisa laid the foundations of its fortunes mainly by war with the Saracens; and it enthusiastically supported the earlier Crusades. The period of its greatness was in the twelfth century, as is attested by its three famous buildings: the Cathedral, begun in 1063 and finished 1118; the Campanile (the Leaning Tower), 1174; and the Baptistery, 1152. The Pisans were at war constantly, first with Florence, and later with the Genoese to whom they ultimately yielded their commercial supremacy. After Corsica and Sardinia had been cleared of the Saracens, a great trade with the East began and led to the settlement of numerous factories by the Genoese and Venetians in the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. Genoa was, by its position, naturally connected with France; and Venice opened up an artery for trade between the Adriatic and the Baltic leading to the prosperity of such German cities as Nuremburg and Ausburg. The development of trading centres was slowly changing the face of Europe and enabling it to emerge from medieval to modern conditions of life.

Two cities, though not so originally, were gradually becoming the very heart of two nations, capitals in the modern sense. Of Paris mention has already been made; but something remains to be said of London, less important in our period, but destined for an even greater commercial, if not political or intellectual supremacy.

It has been estimated that in the days of the Plantagenet kings the city of London contained from forty to fifty thousand inhabitants, and must therefore have been incomparably greater than any other city in the British Isles. Fitz Stephen, a monk of Canterbury, has given, in his life of his friend Thomas Becket, an enthusiastic picture of the London of his time. He tells us that it was walled from the Tower on the East to Montfichet and Baynard's Castle on the West, that is almost as far as Blackfriars Bridge. The seven gates were Aldgate, Bishopsgate, Cripplegate, Aldersgate, Newgate, Ludgate, and the Bridge. About two miles to the west were the Abbey and Palace of Westminster, connected with the City by the Strand. Each trade had its quarter, the markets at Cheapside (the Chepe), Eastcheap, Dowgate and Billingsgate were well supplied. The young men amused themselves by hunting in the forests, which reached almost to the city, and abounded in game, by leaping, wrestling and playing ball; and in winter by skating on bone skates over Moorfields. The noblemen had beautiful gardens; and the city seemed the best governed, most hospitable and cheerful in the world. Its only drawbacks were that some fools drank too much, and fires were frequent, as was natural since little stone was used in the city. There were a hundred and twenty-six parish churches, and the religious houses were very numerous, both within and without the walls. The population was by no means entirely native, Germans and Hansa Merchants being found everywhere. The names still illustrate the medieval city. Bread, Milk, Fish Streets recall the ancient trades. The "gates" are all represented. "London Wall" recalls the old limit of the city and the Jewry, the part set apart for the Chosen People. Blackfriars, Grayfriars, Crutchedfriars, Whitefriars, all perpetuate their former occupants: the Minories was the home of the nuns of St. Clara.

The inhabitants of the towns were engaged in mechanical trades, all of which were elaborately organized, as was most of the life of the Middle Ages. No one could work on his own account: he was subject to the laws of his craft. The system

of instruction resembled that of the schools of learning; and no one was allowed to exercise his trade or to teach it unless he had undergone systematic training. As we have seen, the students formed corporations analogous to those of the craftsmen.

The beginning of medieval industry was due to the necessities of the feudal nobility, for whom their dependents plied their trades. The technical name for this species of service was *ministerium*, hence the French word *métier*. The freedom of the operatives, like that of the serfs, was obtained by purchase, and even then the overlord still frequently claimed his share of the profits. Each *métier*, however, was self-governing, the main object of all being as far as possible to prevent excessive competition and an oversupply of labour, and to see that no individual became rich at the expense of his fellows. The result was that progress towards personal liberty and initiative were checked, and that all were expected to prefer the interest of their common trade to their own.

Of course every craft was purely mechanical, and to master it a man had to understand the entire process from the beginning. It was therefore necessary to have a long training before a man could exercise the full *mystery* of his trade; nor could anyone change the profession which he had learned with so much difficulty. To this is due much of the excellence of the work in the Middle Ages; for it was that of experts.[1]

The training began with a long apprenticeship, extending over sometimes as much as a dozen years. It was not easy to obtain an entrance into a craft, as the masters were strictly limited as to the number of those they initiated—seldom more than three were allowed to a single master. The apprentice was practically the household slave of his master, who was bound to maintain him and to teach him his craft, and even to pay him a wage if he married; at the same time he had the disposal of his services, and the right to arrest him if he escaped from

[1] Every educated man in the Middle Ages passed through three stages. If he were a scholar he was (1) a student, (2) bachelor, (3) master. If a noble (1) page, (2) squire, (3) knight. If a mechanic (1) apprentice, (2) craftsman, (3) master.

his duties. If the business was sold, the apprentices might go with it to the purchaser. On serving his time, the apprentice became a journeyman or *valet* (varlet). He could then offer his services, but under severe restrictions. For example, he might not work for a private person, but only under a master of his craft. At stated times he had to go with his fellows to the crossways and be hired. His hours of work were long, usually from sunrise to sunset—nearly sixteen hours in summer. The severity of his labour was, however, relaxed by the church holidays and Sundays, which left about a hundred days in the year free. A successful craftsman might set up as a master; but, even then, he was not free to do as he pleased. He had to satisfy the rulers of his guild by his mechanical skill that he was qualified for his position. He was bound to conform to all the rules of his trade; and was rarely allowed the right of attracting custom to himself to the detriment of other masters. The industry of the medieval town was domestic, and plied on the premises where the masters lived. Inspectors looked after the work to see that it was fairly and properly performed. There was no distinction between employer and employee, as master and men worked together.

The trades were represented by guilds which were founded on a religious basis. As in ancient Rome every craft had its god, in the Middle Ages it had its patron saint. On his day the guild assembled to hear Mass, and frequently dined together. It was the duty of every member to attend the obsequies of a colleague, and he was expected to help him or his widow and children in time of need, charity and mutual assistance being the essentials of guild fellowship.

Like so many in the Middle Ages, this picture of life is attractive on the surface, but does not bear close investigation. The crowded town with its narrow streets, its unsanitary conditions, was not an ideal dwelling place. Nor did laws, however fair on paper, make life agreeable. In the thirteenth century, as at all times, people amassed money, often by thinly disguised usury; and we hear of a man and wife, who having come almost as beggars, in a few years managed to own most

of a town. The narrow life engendered endless jealousies, the towns were rent by factions, and each city felt a passionate rivalry, often resulting in bloodshed, towards its nearest neighbour. The dread of change, moreover, fettered enterprise, and freedom was practically non-existent in the communities of workers. The perils of civic life alone seem to have relieved an almost intolerable monotony.

The development of all industry depends on commerce, and from the closing years of the eleventh century men were ceasing to work for the needs of their locality, and sought markets for their commodities. The wandering of the nations was succeeded by that of the merchants. The difficulties of travel were enormous; bad roads, few bridges, heavy tolls, baronial exactions, constant and organized brigandage, made the life of the trader dangerous and well-nigh intolerable. For all this trade was active and developed rapidly. In this development the Church played an honourable part. Fraternities were formed to protect merchants and pilgrims, to repair and keep bridges in order, to provide hostels for travellers. The few lighthouses were kept by the Church, which sought to lessen the great dangers of navigation; and to this day in England lighthouses are controlled by the Trinity House, whose name attests its ecclesiastical origin. The fact that the Probate, Divorce and Admiralty court is a division of the judicature, is a reminder that at one time wills, marriages and navigation were part of the jurisdiction of the Church.

But credit was even then essential to business; and the question of usury, or interest for money borrowed for trade, was a pressing one, and opinion as well as religion shrank from the idea that money should make money. To profit by a neighbour's poverty seemed repugnant to every right-minded man; and the Church condemned the practice of getting gain by loans which ought to be acts of charity.[1] This might befit a sim-

[1] Money lending led to the enslavement of freemen. This is true of the Roman republic when the poorer citizens became virtually the slaves of the rich. The Hebrew bondman, who could not by the law be held as a slave for more than seven years, was probably a debtor.

ple community, but once there came into being an extension of commerce and manufacture, and governments wanted to anticipate their revenues for any special reason, loans became no longer charitable but commercial, and unless men could be found who could profit by lending their money, none would be forthcoming. But the Church had forbidden Christians to take usury, and its decrees were irrevocable. It was, however, found to be necessary that some sort of banking should exist; and the Jew was the only one who could undertake the business without incurring the ban of the Church. The Jews were therefore tolerated as usurers and protected by the kings and princes, lay and clerical, who profited largely by their exactions, as without incurring the guilt of usury, they were able to derive all the advantage of its practice. In England the Jew was legally the King's "chattel," absolutely at his disposal. Nevertheless he was too useful to be seriously oppressed, though regarded by the people with the utmost abhorrence and dread. On the whole it is open to doubt whether the Jews were much worse off than other members of the feudal society. All were equally liable to arbitrary treatment at the hands of their superiors, and even the clergy were not as individuals free from danger of oppression, or outbreaks of popular fury. The Jew was allowed to exercise his religion, and to have his synagogue, and his sufferings were often due to the fact that he was more intelligent and civilized than the mass of the people, and, therefore, more capable of feeling.

But money lending was too profitable to be monopolised by the hated Jew, and the shrewd Italians found a means of indulging in the practice without breaking the Canon Law. True they might not take usury, but the Roman law allowed them to exact a penalty if the loan was not repaid at the date when the money was payable, as to withhold it was to wrong the lender. A penalty clause was therefore added to the acknowledgment of every loan, usually taking the form of a heavy increase of the obligation, which virtually amounted to a usurious interest. Shylock's agreement with Antonio in the *Merchant of Venice* was of this character. The money was to

be paid on a certain day, and nothing was due for its use. But, if not forthcoming, Antonio placed his person at the mercy of his creditor. In this way the Lombards, Genoese, and Venetians were enabled to become the bankers of Europe in rivalry with the Jews; and their methods were at least as rigorous as those of the Chosen People; nor could the Church raise any technical objection. Nevertheless the morality of the age was strongly opposed to anything savouring of using money to make money, and the taking of usury was regarded as not less heinous than heresy.

The Church was originally justified in condemning usury or taking of interest — for *usura* means no more than interest, being derived from *usus*, and signifying the payment for the use of a loan. In primitive society the borrower was generally a man in desperate need of money and it was considered a charity to lend to him. The Bible and the Roman law were in full agreement that using a man's dire necessity as a means of making a profit out of it was despicable, and Cato, when asked what he thought of usury, would not answer directly, but asked his interrogator his opinion of murder. But to charge a price, proportionate to the security offered, to a man that he may trade with the money, is only reasonable; and this the wiser legislators and teachers of the Church were ready to admit. Alexander III allowed money to be invested in the hands of merchants, who traded with it for the benefit of minors, and in the next century his action was endorsed by Aquinas.

But the whole method of the ecclesiastical, and, for that matter, almost all legislation with regard to usury has defeated its object. That money lending, in the usual acceptation of the term, is an evil is unquestionable, but in legislating against it there is a danger that the name alone is suppressed, and the thing flourishes under other designations. The laws of the Church were frequently too ideal for the ethics of the age, and resulted in the necessity for a casuistry, often demoralising to the conscience, in order to provide that they might at the same time be outwardly observed, and practically evaded.

The world of the eleventh century and onwards was steadily enlarging its borders, and for this trade was largely responsible. The limits of the Roman Empire had long been passed, and commerce had penetrated into regions unknown to the ancient world. Scandinavia and Russia sent their products to the markets of Europe; and difference of religion, which caused incessant war, could not hinder the volume of commodities passing between East and West from increasing. The Mediterranean was naturally the great trade route of the world, the Baltic was becoming the scene of a busy commerce, as was also the English Channel. Commercial cities were also rising along the land route from the Adriatic to the shores of the Baltic. Defective roads, the dangers of navigation, robbers on land, and piracy on the sea, were powerless to check the enterprise of the merchant.

One characteristic of our period was the way in which the trading cities combined together to secure monopolies. These associations were known as *hansas*, or guilds. The best known is the Hanseatic League of northern towns, which was destined to play a great part, but there were other *hansas* like that of "the seventeen cities" in Champagne, a confederation so named from the original members, but which eventually embraced some sixty places. The Flanders league was known as the *Hansa of London* and traded with England and Scotland. Its headquarters were Bruges and it had a chief or "count" who was obliged to be a native of that city, and a deputy who was styled a *schildrag* and was chosen from Ypres. The *hansas* had their agents in every city, and were particularly active as purchasers of goods in the great fairs which were held throughout Europe, from Novgorod in Russia to Stourbridge near Cambridge in England. The right to hold a fair even on a small scale was a great privilege, and was sometimes granted to a religious house. But the great fairs, which continued down to later times, were virtually temporary cities, opened with great pomp, regulated by strict laws, with streets of booths assigned to the different commodities. The fairs served the same purpose of drawing people together as the pilgrimages;

for commerce was as cosmopolitan as the Church itself. It was also the cause of settlements of foreigners in different countries, both merchants and craftsmen. Thus Flemings came over to England; and in London Italian bankers and *hansa* merchants had their establishments. Lombard Street, and the surname Hansard, perpetuate the memory of this at the present day.

The art which reached its highest development during the period was architecture. Here, and in every other artistic production, is shown the best side of medieval education in its success in turning out trained professional men, all of whom had gone through the drudgery of the business they had learned. Whether a man was a knight leading his soldiers to battle, a theologian disputing in the school, a lawyer or a tradesman with his apprentices and valets, everyone had learned the rudiments of his profession, and had begun at the bottom and worked upwards. Whatever may have been their shortcomings, the educated classes were necessarily experts, and not amateurs. This accounts for their excellence in craftsmanship and for the astonishing results achieved in an age in which Europe was only just emerging from barbarism.

The beauty of a great cathedral consists not only in the magnitude of the conception and the daring arrangement of arch and column, but in the minutest detail. The cutting of a leaf in stone, some grotesque figure hidden below a fauldstool may be a veritable work of art, proving that the man who did it had learned his trade so thoroughly that it had become a second nature to him to turn out perfect work, and what is true of the mason or carpenter is equally so of the skilful scribe or illuminator, the worker in metals, the goldsmith, or the weaver. The concentration of life as we have described it had the merit of making men proficient in their craft, and of instilling in many the ambition to excel, each in his own restricted department. The life was at least productive.

And productivity in art was encouraged by the Church, which by its ceremonial added greatly to the picturesqueness of life. The meanest workman was taught to contemplate objects of beauty, at any rate in his religion, and his imagination

was stimulated by the legends and superstitions of the age. Not only so, but he escaped the confinement of a factory, and worked under a master who understood as a fellow labourer what was being done, so that the human element was introduced into the toil of the day, and fostered originality.

Now we come to the most difficult of all questions. What was actually the religion of the people above described? Certainly the questions eagerly debated in the schools were of no interest to them. Few had any conception of the mystical piety of a St. Bernard, still less of the philosophic theories of an Abélard, or the logical methods of an Aquinas. The nobles, the clergy, the scholars, the merchants and even the humblest craftsmen formed a very small proportion of the population. Till the revival in the eleventh century, the vast majority were peasants, living on the verge of starvation, in a condition of almost primitive savagery, ignorant of all but the simplest arts of life. They were, however, at least nominally, Christians; but we are often left with little more than conjecture as to what the Faith meant to them.

They were taught to believe in One God, to them the hardest of all doctrines to understand. In a feudal society, for instance, what did "the Emperor" mean to a peasant if he had ever heard of him? He was a great lord, living many days' journey away, whom he was never likely to see. He was the superior of the Count, or Duke, or Bishop, who governed the country of the poor man, great personages, whom he might have seen at a distance as they passed by with a train of attendants. These in turn were lords of the baron on whose lands the peasant lived, but whose face he seldom saw. The powers that be were to that poor man those with whom he was in constant contact, the bailiff, the miller, the seneschal, the officials of the estate, who if they oppressed him at least could hear his complaints. God the Father must have seemed much as the Emperor, an inaccessible Being throned in majesty, doubtless infinitely good, but at the same time infinitely remote. God the Son was kind and gentle, for he had died on the Cross; but He too was far away, and besides he was coming in tremendous

majesty to judge the world. Even the great saints could hardly be expected to trouble about lowly people, though the Blessed Virgin was known to be very tender-hearted to the poor. What they needed was some familiar saint, who had lived among them and knew about them, some good bishop or priest, or pious virgin, in whose honour the well that healed their sicknesses had sprung forth. Thus everywhere there were shrines of local saints who, theologically, were but men and women worthy of reverence, and practically replaced the deities of the ancestors of the village. Under the name of Christianity was a very thinly veiled polytheism.

But even the saints were invisible, and what was needed to reassure men terrified by the unseen powers of evil, was something tangible. This was supplied by the innumerable relics of every person in the Bible, and in the calendar of Saints. These were in every church, and were displayed on all important occasions. Their power was immense; they stilled the storm, stayed the thunderbolt, sent the needed rain and expelled pestilence. Those fortunate enough to possess them were safe on their journeys, and had a powerful aid in the hour of death. Even if stolen, a relic assisted the man who possessed it by its inherent power. The Christianity of the ignorant was in many places one of talismans.

The clergy who instructed the people must not be compared with those of whom we have spoken in the learned schools of Chartres or Paris. In the ninth century King Alfred had said that in his dominions there was hardly a single priest who could translate the services he recited; and four centuries later Eudes Rigaud, Archbishop of Rouen, found many of his priests equally ignorant. He examined candidates for benefices in the simplest Latin; and we find one translating *Ade vero non inveniebatur adjutor similis eius*, "But Adam could not find a helper like him." *Pateo*, one of them said, meant "to open," or "to suffer." Another said that in the words *Omnia autem aperta*, the last was a substantive. These mistakes may not seem so serious to some people today; but when it is remembered that Latin was the only language learned, and that

without it no learning was accessible, and further that the priest used it every time he said Mass, the ignorance of some of the clergy in a civilized part of France in the days of the great scholastics must have been considerable.

The service of the Church meant but little to the intelligence of the laity. It was a mystery which the priest conducted; and their duty was to be present and say the few simple prayers they had been taught to repeat without reference to what was going on. The Mass was the service they attended; and, even if it had been in their native languages, they would have understood but little. A perusal of a few specimens of the Apostles' Creed in the vernaculars of Western Europe will show the varieties of dialects of the same language. Primers and guides to the Mass, etc., for the laity belong to a later age.

The superstitions of the age were at times harmless, but often had a demoralising influence. It is related of King Robert of France, as a proof of his goodness, that, to avoid leading his nobles into the sin of perjury, he had a casket made in which, instead of the relics they supposed to be there, were harmless stones or other articles. It was the relic, not the mind of the false swearer, which made the sin so heinous. Even though he believed the relic was there, the perjurer escaped danger if it was absent. And even if we make every allowance for the utterances of impassioned preachers and fervent moralists, morality in every class was at a low ebb. It has been seen how little real courtesy lay below the veneer of chivalry, and what base motives actuated many of the crusaders. But nowhere do worse scandals appear than among the clergy; possibly because more record was kept of their doings. The sin of which most is made is, naturally, incontinency. This is only to be expected when clerical marriage is absolutely forbidden; but, like so many other things, in the Middle Ages, the law was one thing and practice another. This was especially true of all marriage, which according to Canon Law was regulated by innumerable restrictions. Divorce was in theory impossible: Christian marriage being an indissoluble contract. But in the upper classes an heiress represented a property rather than an

individual woman; and a lady constantly changed hands, and passed from husband to husband on the most frivolous pretexts. It was the same with clerical marriage. It was notorious that the great majority of the priests lived openly with some woman known as "a niece," "a friend," or in Latin, a *focaria*, or keeper of his hearth. This has been represented as a sort of honourable, if clandestine matrimony. It was, in many places, nothing of the kind; as, not merely fervid preachers, but the sober registers of episcopal visitations abundantly testify, notably that of Archbishop Eudes of Rouen. The results of his visitation are enough finally to dispel any idea that there were many concubinary priests in the diocese living honestly with the wives of their youth. The condition of things is indescribable, and the whole subject is so unsavoury, that it had best be passed over in silence. What, however, is so amazing is that the most trifling penalties were inflicted by Eudes, a man of stern justice, for offences which would now in anyone, let alone a clergyman, merit the severest penalties, which law or public opinion could inflict. Yet so bad was the moral tone of the vast mass of the parochial clergy, that some heinous offenders were not even deprived of their benefices. Bad as they were, there was no one better to replace them.

One would naturally expect that the mystery of the sacrifice of the altar would have encouraged a dread of the consecrated elements, which we might condemn as superstitious, though respecting the reverence with which they were regarded. It might have been supposed that as the miracle of the change of the bread and wine was believed to be the result of the priest's pronouncing exactly the formula of consecration, the most scrupulous care would be taken in using it correctly. Further, as the doctrine of the Eucharist was accepted, not scholastically or philosophically, but in the most material sense, it might be expected that the Sacred Host, the Bread which had become the Body of the Saviour, which at times was believed to have proved this by actually bleeding, and possessed magical powers, as was evidenced by those who presumed to receive it in attestation of a false oath, would be honoured.

Moreover, those who adored it worshipped Christ the Saviour of the world, in the most literal sense present in their midst. Such beliefs one might reasonably assume would guard the Body and Blood of the Lord from profanation.

But one is compelled to acknowledge that whatever may have been the popular superstition about the Eucharist, one of the gravest charges against the clergy was the revolting irreverence they displayed towards the mystery of the Altar, and towards the Host itself. The truth is superstition can never produce reverence; and the doctrine of the Church was too spiritual to appeal to the gross materialism of a degraded priesthood. They are charged with not attempting to understand the meaning of the Canon of the Mass, the prayer by which the Mystery was wrought, and of pronouncing the solemn words incorrectly, owing to their careless irreverence. The cloths used at the altar were often in a filthy state, the Host was allowed to get mouldy and fly-blown, and was often put in most unseemly places. The churches were frequently unswept and dirty, and were used at times as barns or storehouses. In a word Bishop Butler's famous charge to the clergy of Durham, where he complained of the scandalous neglect and disrepair of the churches of the diocese in 1751, might have been used almost word for word by a bishop in the thirteenth century, and applied to many of his parishes with equal truth.

Drunkenness was very prevalent, the clergy are charged with haunting taverns, and filling themselves with drink "up to their throats," often with playing dice. The practice of Simony was universal, and ecclesiastical legislation was powerless to check it. Everything was bought and sold, even baptism and extreme unction. Not infrequently the parish priest was the one wealthy man in the village, and if so, he almost certainly was the money-lender whose exactions ground the wretched inhabitants without remorse. The abuse of the confessional was one of the worst scandals of the time.

Such then are evidences of the fearful disorders, to which the preachers, the moralists, canons of the Councils,

and the bishops' registers bear abundant witness. It is often maintained that these ought to be ignored, and passed over in discreet silence; but in order to understand the mind of the Middle Ages it is necessary to emphasize them. It does not help the cause of Catholicism to pretend that they did not exist, nor of Protestantism to gloat over these unsavoury details. On the contrary, they alone explain the attitude of the rulers and even the saints of the Church to their age. Men like St. Bernard and St. Norbert have been held up to scorn as bigoted enthusiasts, as encouraging absurd asceticism, or fantastic superstition. They are judged by their traducers as though they had lived in the Victorian age in England, whereas they lived amid nominal Christians, whose morality was often worse than pagan. No wonder they opposed to the vices of their age the example of the sternest self-discipline of the cloister. Is the intemperate language of St. Peter Damiani to be harshly condemned, when he knew what clerical incontinency actually was in his day?

Moreover, in many instances it is but just to say that the best clergy of the time, if they encouraged certain things now rightly condemned, were also fighting hard against a baser superstition. In the ninth century St. Agobard of Lyons had condemned the unspiritualizing tendency to true piety of trusting in all adventitious aids, images, relics, etc. And time after time the bishops and the Inquisition are found repressing excesses of false devotion, for example, the widespread cultus of a woman who professed to be the incarnation of the Holy Ghost, and of many new wonder-working bodies of persons, who proved on enquiry to be anything but saints.

With this terrible condition of affairs in the Church it is not surprising that heresy prevailed so extensively in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. As has been shown, it was at its worst in the towns, the greater civilization of which made the people more alive to the corruption of the time. The secret of the success of the false teachers lay in their austerity of life, which was in sharp contrast with the practice of many of the clergy. Nor had the vast majority of either clergy or people

the ability to judge what was heresy. They were ready to believe anything; and, given real piety, ostentatious goodness, or even blatant assertion of miraculous power, there was nothing that would not be readily accepted. Side by side with this heresy and superstition, there was no little scepticism, and positive unbelief. Men like the Emperor Frederic II were believed to scoff openly at the Christian religion.

There was, however, much genuine piety; and in every age throughout the period here treated of were men of exceptional goodness and ability. But these were as exceptional then as in all stages of human history; nor did they generally escape misrepresentation or even actual persecution. But by the end of the thirteenth century the monopoly the clergy had enjoyed of the learning and wealth of Europe had certainly not contributed to the usefulness of their order, nor to the benefit of society. This must be understood in view of the failure of the medieval conception of a theocracy on earth, directed by the Pope.

AUTHORITIES

Lavisse and Rambaud, in their *Histoire Générale*, Vol. II, have four invaluable chapters: I, on the Feudal system (C. Seignobos); VIII and IX, on the Towns and Commerce (A. Giry and A. Réville); and X, on Western Civilization (C. V. Langlois); all have good bibliographies. A. Luchaire, *Social France at the Time of Philip Augustus*, E. T., is readable and especially interesting from the illustrations from the popular poems and tales of the age. See also three books by G. G. Coulton, *Medieval Garner* (1910); *Medieval Studies, First Series*, second revised edition with three appendices (1915); *Social Life in Britain from the Conquest to the Reformation* (1918). Coulton's *From St. Francis to Dante* is a summary account of Fra Salimbene's diary, which gives a most lifelike description of life as it actually was in Northern Italy in the thirteenth century. H. Adams, in his *Mt. St. Michel and Chartres*, presents some excellent illustrations of the popular worship of the period, especially that of the Blessed Virgin. On the life in the villages of England, Thorold Rogers made extensive research and the results are attainable in a condensed form in his *Work and Wages*. W. Cunningham's *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, Vol. I, is most informing; and the same author has a small treatise on *Usury*. F. W. Tickner, *Social and Industrial History of England*, gives some picturesque details. On the local activities of the Church, see F. A. Gasquet (Cardinal), *Parish Life in Medieval England*, and E. L. Cutts, *Parish Priests and their People in the Middle Ages in England* (illustrated edition, 1914).

Really to understand the subject it is necessary to go to such documents as the accounts of the manors, municipal archives, episcopal visitations, etc. The reader will find great help in the bibliographies prefixed to the chapters of Lavisse and Rambaud, *Histoire*, and in J. Westfall Thompson's *Reference Studies in Medieval History*, second edition, 1914, Chap. XXV. Lea's *History of Sacerdotal Celibacy* and *History of Confession and Indulgences* are mines of unfriendly information for the condition of the clergy.

CHAPTER XIV

DANTE AND THE DECAY OF MEDIEVALISM

Dante the representative of the best of Medievalism — Life of Dante — The *Vita Nuova* — Henry VII of Luxemburg Emperor — Henry VII in Italy — The Divine Comedy — *The Inferno* — Celestine V — The noble heathen — Minos the Judge — Paolo and Francesca — Mythological monsters in *The Inferno* — The heretics — The lower Hell — The Malebolge — The Simonists — Popes Nicholas and Boniface — No hope for the lost — Purgatory — Cato the Censor — Miserable condition of Italy — Those not admitted to Purgatory — Dante enters Purgatory — The proud — The envious and the wrathful — A Pope in Purgatory — Greed and ambition of France — The poet Statius — Belief in Purgatory — The Paradiso — Heaven of the Moon Piccarda and the Empress Constance — Justinian — Charles Martel — Cunizza — Folco — The Doctors of the Church — Thomas Aquinas praises St. Francis — Bonaventure praises St. Dominic — Dante and his ancestor — The righteous rulers — The rulers in Dante's day — The eye of the Eagle of Justice — Can a heathen be saved ? — The contemplative saints — The Eternal Rose — Dante, idealist, reformer and prophet — Hope in a restored empire — The genius of Dante — Return to classical antiquity — End of medievalism — Medieval civilization western — Religion and law — Power of the priesthood — Faults of the clergy — Learning devoted to the Church — Uncompromising theory of life — Enthusiasm for monasticism fades — Gradual weakening of the Papacy — Decay of feudalism; growth of nations.

Dante is the supreme example of the best thought of the Middle Ages, and its highest aspirations are expressed in his writings. With him medieval civilization culminates: after him it begins to make way for something different. The *Divine Comedy* is the expression of beliefs which, though they long continued to be accepted as vitally true, yet ceased to exercise the dominating influence on every act of human life they had previously done.

Gregory's *Dialogues* are the first medieval revelation of the world beyond the grave in all its crude simplicity; in Dante we see it unfolded six centuries later in a supreme effort of the finest poetic imagination. His learning, moreover, includes all the knowledge of his day, the result of the accumulated experience of the Middle Ages. His great poem the *Divine Comedy* is the flower of the long period that has here been sur-

veyed and contains the seed of a new age. Dante is the first writer to produce a great work in a modern European language, and also he is the first medieval layman to take a prominent place in the learned world. Thoroughly orthodox, holding all the Church teaches with undoubting faith, circumstances forced Dante into uncompromising hostility towards Boniface VIII, the last of the great popes of the Middle Ages. He is the first to develop the theory that Cæsar, not Peter, as represented by the Pope, is the divinely appointed ruler of the world.

The facts of his life are not numerous or particularly eventful, as he played on the whole an inconspicuous part in the politics of his age. He was born on May 14th, 1265, when the constellation of the Gemini was in the ascendant. His family was respectable rather than of the high nobility of Florence, and had for generations been settled in Italy. His poetic genius was fostered by the influence of Provence and Southern France. His native Florence had long been famed for its loyalty to the Guelf cause.

At the age of nine he first met Beatrice, who was a few months older, and he cherished a romantic love for her till her death in 1290, though, apparently, he saw her but rarely, and she herself married. In thus adoring a lady at a distance Dante was following the tradition of the troubadours; and Beatrice became to him the ideal of female perfection, and even the embodiment of heavenly wisdom. He married probably after her death, and had children; but he was early parted from his wife by his long exile. His love for Beatrice, as described in the *Vita Nuova* (the New or the Young Life), marks a departure from the traditions both of antiquity and the Middle Ages. From time immemorial it had been customary to consider woman, with rare exceptions, either as a plaything, or a nuisance, and the heathen philosopher would have cordially agreed with the Christian ascetic that she was the greatest hindrance the gods or the devil had devised to the searcher after wisdom or the heavenly mysteries. Dante, on the contrary, makes Beatrice his inspiration and guide to spiritual truth. He concludes his *Vita Nuova* thus:

"A wonderful vision appeared to me in which I saw things which made me resolve to speak no more of this blessed one, until I could more worthily treat of her. And to attain to this I study to the utmost of my power as she truly knows. So that if it shall please Him, through whom all things live that my life shall be prolonged for some years, I hope to say of her what was never said of any woman.

"And then may it please Him who is the Lord of grace, that my soul may go to behold the glory of this lady, namely, of that blessed Beatrice, who in glory looks upon the face of Him, who is blessed throughout all ages."

Thus in the closing passage of the *Vita Nuova* Dante foretells his masterpiece, the *Divine Comedy*.

Dante entered political life in 1300, the year of the Jubilee celebrated in Rome by Boniface VIII. He was a member of the Signoria or Council of Florence, and a vote of his is recorded when he opposed the papal demand that the city should furnish one hundred knights. The minute is thus worded:

> *Dante alagerius consuluit quod de servitio faciendo Domino Papæ nihil fieret.*
>
> In regard to the Lord Pope's demand for service Dante Alighieri's advice was that nothing should be done.

The city was then under the rule of the "White," or popular party, and as each citizen had to enrol himself in a craft, Dante's name appears among the *medici*, or physicians.

When Charles of Valois entered Florence, the aristocratic or "Black" party triumphed and in January, 1302, Dante and his adherents were banished. In March of the same year the rulers of Florence condemned him to be burned alive. He retired to Can Grande della Scala, to whom he subsequently dedicated the *Paradiso*. The rest of his life till his death in Ravenna, 1321, was spent in exile. He died on the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, and was buried in the Church of San Francisco. The Florentines in vain petitioned for the body of their greatest citizen; and he still rests in Ravenna.

In 1308 Albert of Hapsburg was murdered and the Empire was vacant. Both he and his predecessor Rudolph had been occupied in Germany, and had eschewed adventures in Italy. Philip the Fair desired the election of Charles of Valois, and Pope Clement V had acted with his usual duplicity in secretly intriguing to defeat the design of France, which he dared not openly oppose. The electors, instead of choosing, as had been customary, a powerful German prince, selected, at the instigation of his brother Baldwin, Archbishop of Trèves, Henry Count of Luxemburg as King of the Romans. For a prince with such small hereditary dominions within the Empire, it was impossible to be a power in Germany; and Henry VII undertook the desperate adventure of seeking imperial authority south of the Alps. The hopes of all were raised by this resolve; even Clement V saw a prospect of one who might be an Emperor indeed in Italy delivering the Pope from the tyranny of France. Dante, full of enthusiasm, saw the fulfilment of his dream of an universal monarchy bringing peace on earth. Accordingly, in 1309, he published his book *De Monarchia*, "the first political treatise of importance," as it has been styled, "since Plato, Aristotle, and Cicero." [1] Here he explains the supreme and inalienable rights of the Roman Empire, which even Constantine had no authority to delegate to Sylvester. Not that he defends arbitrary government: for, he says, "Citizens do not exist for the consuls, nor subjects (for the king); but exactly the opposite is true."

Henry VII's expedition to Italy is one of the tragedies of the Middle Ages. With it the ideal of the Holy Roman Empire really came to an end. Attended by a small retinue the King of the Romans entered Lombardy, and was received with enthusiasm. He came as a high-minded pacificator and refused to recognise either Ghibelline or Guelf. He was welcomed on all sides as the deliverer of Italy. At Milan, in the Church of St. Ambrose, he was crowned with the Iron Crown of Lombardy. Gradually the clouds thickened about him. A would-be Emperor without money, unaccompanied by an army, could

[1] Gregorovius, *History of the City of Rome*, Vol. VI, p. 19, E. T.

make few lasting friends in Italy. Still he persisted, and entered Rome, though dismayed at the squalor and misery to which the factions had reduced the City. He found secret opposition on every side. Roger, King of Naples, was there to thwart him at every turn. Clement V, with his usual perfidy, intrigued against him, though he allowed him to be crowned Emperor in the Lateran Basilica on St. Peter and St. Paul's day, June 29, 1312. Still there seemed more chance of success for Henry than his lack of material resources seemed to warrant; but, just as he was about to attack Roger and might have established his credit in Italy, he was taken ill and died at Siena in August, 1313.

With the untimely removal of the Emperor the hopes of Dante were shattered. But to these the world owes the *Divine Comedy*, which, it must be remembered, was supposed to be the subject of a vision seen in 1300, though it alludes to the deaths of Clement V and Philip the Fair in 1314. But the ideal of a restored Empire pervades the whole of his great poem, and is the key to almost all his contemporary historical and poetical allusions.

The first book of the *Inferno* finds the poet, "midway in the journey of life," that is at the age of thirty-five, in a dark wood where he has lost his way. He is hindered by three wild beasts, a Leopard (*lonza*), a Lion (*leone*) and a She-wolf (*lupa*). Probably these signify Florence, the type of worldly lust, ambition, which in Dante's day was so thoroughly represented by the royal house of France, and avarice was papal Rome, as insatiable as the wolf honoured by the pagan city. A guide appears in Virgil, who foretells that the Wolf will be chased back to Hell, from whence envy let her loose, by a Greyhound (*il veltro*). Such then was the Italy of Dante's day threatened by French ambition and ground down by papal avarice, looking for a deliverer, some new pope or some unknown Ghibelline prince. Virgil offers to escort Dante through Hell and Purgatory and promises a nobler guide for the realms of Heaven.

The journey occupies a week, and to understand it it must

be borne in mind that to Dante the centre of the earth is Jerusalem, exactly opposite to which is the mount of Purgatory by which Paradise is reached. From thence the ascent to Heaven is made. To Hell there is a descent by ten stages. Outside are those colourless persons distinguished for neither virtue nor vice, not bad enough for Hell, not good enough for Heaven. They have lived without infamy or credit (*senza infamia e senza lodo*) and have no punishment save the misery of envying everybody. Among these is the man whose abject spirit caused him to make the great refusal, generally supposed to be Celestine V, whose abdication of the Papacy made way for the hateful rule of Boniface VIII.[1] In the Limbus, or fringe, of Hell are the Heathen, whose only sin was that they did not worship the true God. This is the first circle, and here Dante meets the heroes, sages and poets of antiquity who are only punished by living without hope.

The virtuous heathen are found in verdant meadows in a noble castle. They appeared to the poet "as people with eyes slow and grave, of great authority in their appearance, speaking seldom with mild voices." Among the sages are "the Master of those who know" (Aristotle), Socrates, Plato, and Democritus. Thales, Zeno, Dioscorides, Orpheus and Tully (Cicero), Seneca, Euclid, Ptolemy, Hippocrates, Avicenna, Galen, and Averrhoes, "who made the great comment" (on Aristotle).[2] Next follow the circles of punishment for the sins arranged according to Aristotle under three heads: I, Incontinence, which includes all wrong action due to the inadequate control of natural appetite or desire; II, Brutishness, or violence, characteristic of morbid states, in which what is naturally repulsive becomes attractive; III, Malice or Vice, which consists of those evil actions which involve the abuse of the specifically human attributes of reason.

Dante now enters the abode of pain, where Minos sits as judge. The second circle is reserved for those who fell into

[1] *Inferno*, Canto III, 34–39.

[2] *Inferno*, IV. 58 ad fin. The poets are Homer, Horace 'the Satirist,' Ovid, and Lucan.

incontinence and are driven to and fro by a terrific storm. Here Dante meets Francesca and her lover Paolo and learns from her the tale of their death. It is evident that the poet has great sympathy for those who have given way to sin through weakness; but is unplacable to those whose avarice, cruelty and treachery have met with severe punishment. On hearing Francesca's sad tale,[1] he faints "and falls as a dead body falls." (*E cadai, come corpo morto cade.*)

The *Inferno* in its setting is not so much Christian as classical. The fiends are those of Virgil and not of the imaginings of the Church, though the belief that the heathen gods were demons was general. Minos presides over the Second circle and Cerberus is in the Third.[2]

The topography throughout is Virgilian; and in the descent to the lowest pit one meets with Plutus, the Furies, the head of Medusa, Antæus, proofs of the influence of the mythology of antiquity upon the Christian imagination as to the condition of the lost. It is noticeable, moreover, that Dante passes rapidly through the upper circles, the abode of carnal sinners and even of the heretics, and devotes more than half his poem to those criminals whose sins demand the severest reprobation.

In the third circle are the gluttons, sinking in mud and tormented by loathsome rain, hail and snow. Here he finds an old Florentine friend, who foretells to the poet what will happen to their native city. He then sinks in the mire to wake no more "till the last trumpet shall sound."[3] The fourth circle is the place of the avaricious and the prodigal, rolling heavy weights, smiting and reproaching one another. Priests and Popes and Cardinals are here, and Dante asks whether any of them are known to him. But Virgil says that their lives on

[1] Her words, *Inferno*, V. 121,

Nessun maggior dolore,
Che recordarsi del tempo felice nella miseria,

finds an echo in Tennyson's allusion to them

"Sorrow's crown of sorrow is remembering happier things."

[2] *Inferno*, V. 4, VI. 13.

[3] *Inferno*, VI. 37 ff.

earth have been so sordid that they are all alike in Hell, and it is impossible to recognise one from another.[1]

The poets descend to the fifth circle, the dreary marshes of the Styx, and pass among the wrathful and sullen, sunk in the black mire, saying, "Sullen we were in the sweet air, that is gladdened by the Sun . . . and now lie we sullen in the black mire."[2] After this they enter the city of Dis where live the Fallen Angels. In the sixth circle they find the heretics. It is frequently asserted that Dante delighted in consigning his personal and political enemies to the infernal regions, but this is not borne out by a perusal of his poem. Among the heretics who are found in chests with the lids not yet closed is Farinata degli Uberti, who, bitter Guelf though he was, had at least saved his native Florence from destruction from her enemies. Dignified, even in the midst of torment, "upright with heart and countenance, as if he entertained great scorn of Hell (*come avessi lo inferno in grand dispitto*)."[3] He tells Dante that, where he is, they remember the past and can foretell the future, but of the present they know nothing. Here also the poet finds his friend Guido Cavalcanti, to whom he had dedicated the *Vita Nuova*, son-in-law of Farinata, and also a Guelf. Among the Ghibellines are Frederic II and Cardinal Octavian. Dante beholds a monument declaring that here is buried Anastasius, the pope, who had perverted the faith, probably confused with the Emperor of that name.[4]

Eleven cantos have been devoted to the upper part of Hell and now the poets descend to its lowest depths as they enter the seventh circle. Here violence, fraud and treachery are punished and here are the most terrible monsters of pagan antiquity, the Minotaur, the Centaurs, the Harpies. No less than twenty-two books are devoted to this most dreadful portion of the nether world.

In the wood of the suicides is Peter de Vinea, the trusted

[1] *Inferno*, VII. 52–54.
[2] *Inferno*, VII. 121–124.
[3] *Inferno*, X. 34.
[4] *Inferno*, XI. 7–9. The Pope Anastasius and the Emperor of the same name (491–518) were contemporaries.

and afterwards disgraced minister of Frederic II, who is changed into a tree, which bleeds as Dante breaks a bough. Peter declares that he was entirely innocent of the crimes laid to his charge and had always served the Emperor faithfully.[1] Among the "violent against Nature," the Poet finds the teachers of youth, "many great clerks," and his old friend Brunetto Latini, with whom he has a long and earnest conversation and is warned of the plots which the two factions of Florence the Black (aristocratic) and the White (popular) will agree in making against him.[2]

From the eighteenth to the thirtieth canto the poem describes a journey through the part of Hell called Malebolge. Here panders and seducers, flatterers, simonists, evil counsellors, diviners, barrators, thieves and others undergo their punishment.

A dreadful place of torment is reserved for clerics guilty of Simony. They are confined in holes cut in the stone, which remind Dante of those in the Baptistery of Florence, one of which he broke to rescue a boy from drowning. But here the victims are placed head downwards, and the poet can only see their quivering limbs. As he approaches one of the damned souls and addresses him, he is met by the question, "Art thou already standing, Art thou already standing, Boniface?"[3] The voice is that of Nicholas III, the Orsini pope (*figliuol dell' orsa*), whose shameless nepotism disgusted his age. He foresees that he will soon be joined by Boniface VIII, whose simony has been even more flagrant. To him will succeed a still meaner pope in Clement V, who, like Jason in the second book of the Maccabees (II Macc. IV, 7–13), will prostitute his priestly office to the will of the King of France. The poet here breaks into a fierce invective against the corrupt Papacy of his age. In it the vision in the book of Revelation is fulfilled; for it is the whore which sitteth in the waters and committeth forni-

[1] *Inferno*, XIII, cf. Virgil, *Aen.*, III, 22, the story of Polydorus, which suggested the idea to Dante.

[2] *Inferno*, XV. 28 ff.

[3] *Inferno*, XIX. 31 ff.

cation with the kings of the earth. The Simonaical Papacy is worse than idolatry, and Constantine injured the Church by the dower which the "first rich father" (Sylvester I) took from him. The Donation of Constantine, accepted as literal history, by Dante was the ruin of the Church.[1] In a still lower hell the poet finds Boniface's counsellor Guido of Montefeltro, who after leading a secular life became a Franciscan, but was summoned by the Pope, "the Prince of the new Pharisees," to assist him to ruin the family of the Colonnas.[2]

Virgil and Dante now descend lower and lower and witness the punishments of the worst sinners, those who dealt in unlawful magic, the thieves, the sowers of discord, the treacherous, the traitors who betrayed their country or their friends. At last they reach the lowest hell, a place of icy cold, where Satan reigns, and in his teeth champs the three guiltiest of mankind, Judas, who betrayed Christ, the type of all enemies of the Church, and Brutus and Cassius, who slew Cæsar, the traitors to the empire. From thence the poets ascend to earth again and once more behold the stars.

It is scarcely necessary to say that the *Inferno* of Dante was not the hell of popular imagination. The only thing which recalls the place of punishment as depicted in art is the part of the Malebolge where the demons torment the sinners, and fight with one another. Otherwise it is the underworld of Virgil, rendered more terrible by the vivid imagination of his Christian disciple. To him if the scene is imaginary, the sufferings are intensely real. They are eternal and there is absolutely no hope for the lost. As the more perfect a creature is, the more it is capable of suffering, the pains of the damned will be more acute when they are perfected by the restoration of their bodies at the Judgment. And to this hell all outside the Church must inevitably go. Even those unjustly excom-

[1] *Inferno*, XIX. 106 ff., 115–117.

[2] *Inferno*, XXVII. 67 ad fin. I found a most curious blunder in Michelet's *History of France*. He places Gerbert Sylvester II (999–1003) in hell as a magician and refers to this canto in Dante. Guido says that Boniface summoned him to cure his fever of vengeance as Constantine did Sylvester from Mount Serapte. The historian has confused the two Sylvesters, owing to a careless glance at the passage.

municated can with difficulty escape. Here is a key to the mind of the Middle Ages. Men lived in terror of everlasting fire and fled to the Church in which alone lay any hope of deliverance. As a Ghibelline, Dante is no friend to the papal hierarchy; but he denounces their abuses, not their office, and he would have agreed with the declaration *extra ecclesiam nulla salus.*

The Purgatory of Dante like both his Hell and Heaven has ten main stages and nine books are devoted to the two through which one must pass before entering Purgatory itself. The mountain was formed when Satan was hurled into Hell; and it was thrown up at the Antipodes. It became the means of the salvation of men who ascend it by seven levels on each of which they do penance for one of the seven deadly sins. On reaching the summit they enter the Earthly Paradise which Adam and his progeny forfeited at the Fall. Man is thus restored to his original purity by suffering; and he is translated from the earthly state of innocency to the heavenly realm by grace.

The souls embarking for Purgatory sing the Psalm *In exitu Israel,* and among them is Dante's friend, the musician Casella. As the poets tarry to listen to his singing "the old man venerable" (*il veglio onesto,* Cato, i.e., the representative of pagan virtue) rebukes the laggard spirits and urges them to the work of purifying their souls.[1]

Outside Purgatory, which they may not enter, though they are not among the lost, are those unjustly excommunicated. Dante recognises Manfred, who tells him how Charles of Anjou and his soldiers buried him after his defeat at Benevento, but the Bishop of Cosenza, urged on by Pope Clement, exhumed the body. But by curse of such as these a man is not lost, only he must roam around Purgatory for thirty times his years on earth, but the period can be shortened by holy prayers.[2]

[1] *Purgatorio,* II, 118.

[2] *Purgatorio,* II, 118. Dante is evidently influenced by the story of Palinurus, the pilot of *Æneas,* who could not rest till the rites of burial were performed. *Æn.,* VI, 337 ff.

> Centum errant annos volitantque haec litore circum,
> tum demum admissi stagna exoptata revisunt.—*Æn.,* VI, 329–330.

Even the curse of the worst Popes and Bishops had an effect though it had been unjustly pronounced,

The next halting place is the abode of the late repentant and here Virgil finds his fellow countryman, the poet Sordello of Mantua. Sordello is glad to meet a Mantuan, but when he learns that it is Virgil, he falls at his feet in adoration.

At this point Dante utters a denunciation of Italy where all is in confusion, because it is like a horse bridled by Justinian, i.e., by Roman law, with no one to mount him. Montagues and Capulets (*Montecchi e Cappelletti*) are dividing the country by their factions and there is no controlling power. The poet bitterly reproaches the house of Hapsburg and the Emperor Albert for forsaking Italy, and says that this neglect deserves the judgment of heaven. Here is the dominant ideal of Dante. The Emperor is the ruler appointed by God for the civil government of the world. The Papacy and the Italian cities have brought misery by their rebellion against him; and till some one shall arise who will exert the power the Roman law gives him, there can be no peace.[1]

Outside Purgatory, as the feeble Pope who made the grand refusal is outside Hell, are the negligent rulers who deserve not damnation, and yet are unworthy of purification. In his estimate of these the character of Dante becomes evident, as that of a man who hates feeble virtue as cordially as he does open vice. A representative of this kind of goodness is our Henry III. The King of the simple life (*il re della semplice vita . . . Arrigo d'Inghilterra*), whose son Edward I with his manly character is better than his father.[2] That the Poet condemns men for their character and not for their politics, is shown by his fierce denunciations of the then King of France, Philip the Fair. Rudolph of Hapsburg, the Emperor who might have healed the wounds of Italy, is here, so is his enemy Ottocar of Bohemia with Peter IV of Aragon, and Charles I of Anjou.

At last Dante enters Purgatory. Seven P's are stamped on his forehead, the seven deadly sins which one by one are to be washed off as he passes through the seven circles of probation. It would be superfluous here to dwell on the punish-

[1] *Purgatorio*, VI, 76 ff.
[2] *Purgatorio*, VII, 130.

ments in each successive circle. In the first the proud are crushed under heavy burthens. Among them are the artists, represented by Oderisi, the miniature painter; here also is the proud Sienese Provenzan Salvani, saved because he begged in the market place of his native city to redeem a friend, who had fallen into the cruel hands of Charles of Anjou. As Dante ascends to the next circle one of the P's is wiped from his forehead and he mounts as though a burthen had been removed.

Those mentioned as present among the envious, who are punished by having their eyes sewn up, and crowd together as the blind beggars at a Pardon, are from the Romagna. In the circle of the wrathful Dante meets Mark the Lombard of Venice, who discourses of fate and free will. He explains how true freedom is the service of God, and then denounces the wealth and avarice of the Papacy. Rome that made the good world had two aims, one to make plain the law of man, the other the law of God. But now the sword is in the same hand as the shepherd's crook (*è giunta la spada col pastorale*) and all goes ill, as Lombardy, where worth and courtesy once prevailed now testifies, since Frederic II and the pope were in opposition.[1] Now the Poet understands why Levi was to have no inheritance, since he perceives that the Curse of the Papacy is its wealth. The thick mists which oppress the wrathful are now past: Dante and Virgil enter the circle where the sin of sloth is expiated, and sees the sinners disciplined by having to run ceaselessly.

The avaricious and the prodigal are both punished by having to lie with their faces to the earth. In this circle Dante finds Ottobuoni de' Fieschi who had been papal legate in England in 1268, and became Pope as Hadrian V, reigning only a few days more than a month (1276). In language which reminds us of Hadrian IV's bitter complaint to his friend, John of Salisbury, this Hadrian declares that the trials he endured as Pastor of Rome converted him so that he escaped Hell but had to endure the worst of all punishments on the

[1] *Purgatorio*, XVI, 64 ff.

Mount. When Dante knelt in acknowledgment of the papal office Hadrian sternly ordered him to rise, and commended to him his niece Alagia, who was the wife of one of the Malaspini friends of the Poet.[1]

The next shade with whom Dante conversed was Hugh Capet, son, as he says, of a butcher of Paris and the founder of the royal house of France, whose overweening greed and ambition he bitterly deplores. He ends his discourse by a description of the humiliation of Boniface VIII. Enemy as he was, Dante could not write of the degradation of a Pope unmoved. Christ was made captive in the person of his vicar. The vinegar and the gall were renewed; and Philip the Fair denounced as the Second Pilate.[2]

Virgil and Dante are here joined by a third poet, Statius, who, when he knows who Virgil is, tells him that he was converted to Christianity by reading the Fourth Eclogue, and has remained so many centuries in Purgatory because he lacked the courage to declare himself.

After ascending to the places where gluttony and lust are purified, Dante bids farewell to Virgil, who crowns him as a poet on parting, and he enters the Earthly Paradise.

While it must be borne in mind that Dante must not be taken literally, but that his purpose is allegorical, its object being to show that divine justice is seen in the whole fate of man, here and hereafter, his poem still throws much light on the beliefs of his age. For the sufferers in Hell and Purgatory are not abstractions, but real men, many of whom the poet had known familiarly. This gives extraordinary interest to the *Divine Comedy*, but it also makes the reader understand what Purgatory meant in the Middle Ages. Its torments are as real as those of the *Inferno*, only the sufferers rejoice in them because they know them to be remedial and by them they are continually rising heavenward. Therefore they sing hymns of gladness as they approach the place of punishment, and ascend to new penalties with songs of gratitude. But when we realise

[1] *Purgatorio*, XIX, 97 ff.
[2] *Purgatorio*, XX, 70–78.

that Statius had been suffering for close on twelve centuries, it is not difficult to understand the popular dread of Purgatory, or how those who had loved people on earth were ready to make any sacrifice for their beloved dead in order to shorten their sufferings. The numerous chantries attest that the pangs of Purgatory were very real in the minds of succeeding generations.

The *Paradiso* is a more difficult poem than either of its predecessors; and here we have the science of Dante's age set forward to its fullest extent. It demands a consummate knowledge of medieval science and philosophy to understand, and, even when treating only on the historical side, it is no easy task to describe it.

As in the Babylonian cosmology, the earth is the centre of the system in the midst of the seven planetary spheres; round these move the stellar heaven and the *Primum Mobile*, and beyond these nine circles is the Empyrean Heaven, where God is, and with Him all the angels and the souls of the redeemed have their true abiding place.

On reaching the heaven of the Moon Dante shows how the celestial topography differs from that of other regions. In this the lowest heaven he finds Piccarda, the sister of his friend Forese Donati, and the Empress Constance, heiress of the Kingdom of Sicily and mother of Frederic II. These spirits are in the lowest heaven, because they had been forced to marry, though they had already taken vows as nuns. Dante asks Piccarda whether she is not disappointed with her lowly grade in heaven; but she replies that to be so would be to rebel against the Divine will, and that in Heaven is perfect contentment, for there God's will "is our peace." The Poet then understands that everywhere here is Paradise.[1]

In the second heaven of Mercury is Justinian, who expounds the theory of the Roman Empire. The great lawgiver,

[1] Chiaro mi fu allor com' ogni dove
in cielo è Paradiso, e si la grazia
del sommo ben d'un modo non vi piove.
Paradiso, III, 88–90.

who had been converted from the Monophysite heresy by Pope Agapetus, gives a sketch of Roman history from the days of the Kings of Alba Longa, reaching rapidly the victories of Cæsar and Augustus, the redemption of the human race in the days of Tiberius, and the punishment of the Jews by Titus for crucifying Christ. Passing over the intervening period, Justinian tells of the deliverance of Rome by Charles the Great, and of the present ills of Italy. Ghibelline as he is, Dante makes Justinian declare that it is hard to say which party is most in the wrong. The Guelfs support the French against the Empire, and their rivals use the Empire in support of their factions' aims.[1] Dante is in fact wholehearted in his advocacy, not of his party, but of the imperial idea. He hates France as much as he does the worldly Papacy because both hinder the restoration of the *pax Romana* under a virtuous Emperor. The Ghibelline faction, which upheld the French royalty in Sicily, is as much opposed to his hopes as every other power hostile to Cæsar.

As Dante moves upward he is instructed in the mysteries of the Christian faith by his companion Beatrice, whom he loved on earth. She explains the Creation, the Fall, the Incarnation, the Redemption and the whole scheme of man's salvation from sin, following in the main the argument of Anselm's *Cur Deus Homo*.

In the third heaven, that of Venus, Dante meets his friend Charles Martel, King of Hungary, son of Charles II of Anjou, who spoke of all the lordships he might have inherited, and alludes to the loss of Sicily to his house in the Vespers, when the people of Palermo cried *Die! Die!*

In the same heaven is Cunizza, the sister of Ezzelino de Romano, the cruel chief of the Ghibellines under Frederic II, whose appalling tyrannies in northern Italy make his sister speak of him as "the firebrand who made a dire assault on

[1] L'uno al pubblico segno i gigli gialli
oppone, e l'altro appropria quello a parte
si che forte a veder è chi più falli.
Paradiso, VI, 100–102.

the country." [1] Cunizza had not by any means a spotless reputation, but her abundant charities won her a place in heaven. Equally fortunate was the amorous troubadour Folco, who atoned for his sins as Bishop of Toulouse by his vigour against heretics in the Albigensian War. Safe in heaven, his sin of incontinency troubled him no longer, any more than does his cruelty to heretics, which Dante must have ranked among his merits. The Poet after this rebukes the Pope for his lack of interest in the crusades and the clergy for neglecting the Gospel and the great Doctors for the study of the Canon Law.[2]

In the fourth heaven of the Sun are the Doctors and Sages. Among these are Thomas Aquinas, who indicates to Dante his master Albert the Great, and then points out Gratian the famous canonist, Peter Lombard, and King Solomon. The poet also sees Dionysius the Areopagite, probably the historian Orosius, the little light (*piccioletta luce*) to whom Augustus suggested his theme, Boethius, Isidore of Seville, Bede, and Richard of St. Victor; lastly Thomas' opponent at Paris, Sigier of Brabant. The list is interesting, as showing who were held in the highest estimation as philosophers.[3]

Thomas continues his discourse by explaining how God raised up two princes to be guides to the Church, the one Seraphic (symbolical of love), the other Cherubic (of wisdom). These were Francis and Dominic. Francis's glory was his espousal of the Lady Poverty, who had been neglected for eleven centuries and more. She it was who, when Mary stayed below, mounted the Cross with Christ. After receiving the stigmata, Francis, the illustrious soul (*l'anima preclara*), bequeathed his lady to his brethren.

As himself a Dominican, Thomas does not pass such a

[1] una facella
Che fece alla contrada un grande assalto.
Paradiso, X, 32, 33.

[2] e solo ai Decretali
si studia sì che pare ai lor vivagni.—*Paradiso*, IX, 134–135.
(Alluding to the glosses on the Canon Law.)

[3] *Paradiso*, X, 95.

eulogy on his own founder, but expiates on the degeneracy of the Order. The praise of Dominic is placed in the mouth of Bonaventura, the glory of the Franciscans. He tells how at Calahorra Dominic was born to be the sacred athlete, gentle to the friends and cruel to the foes of the Christian faith. Bonaventura ends, as Aquinas had concluded, by a denunciation this time of the corruption of modern Franciscans.[1] It afterwards became a general custom for a Franciscan to say mass in a Dominican Convent on the feast of St. Dominic (October 4) and a Dominican to do so when Francis was commemorated on August 4.

As Æneas meets his father Anchises among the shades, so, in the heaven of Mars, does Dante learn his future from his great-great-grandfather Cacciaguida, a Florentine who had been one of the Knights of Conrad III, and was killed in the crusade of 1147. The Poet is told by his ancestor of the happiness of Florence in those early days when the greatest lived in simplicity, and the matron came from her mirror "with unpainted face." The great families of the city are enumerated, and the fall and degeneracy of many are made the subject of Cacciaguida's lamentation. He regrets the influx of strangers, the factions and the luxury of the Florentines, and declares that in his days the city was indeed honourable. The whole passage is of great interest as a key to the domestic history of the place.

Lastly Dante is warned that there are plots against him, hatched where Christ is every day put out to sale, i.e., at Rome. He shall know the wretchedness of exile, and shall learn how salt is another's bread and how hard is the path up and down a stranger's staircase.[2] But Cacciaguida bids the Poet not to be dismayed, he must trust to the Emperor Henry VII in whom his hopes are fixed; and he assures his descendant that he will outlive his persecutors. He also commands Dante to reveal

[1] *Paradiso*, XI and XII, *passim*.

[2] Tu proverai sì come sa di sale
Il pani altrui, e com' è duro calle
Lo scendere e il salir per l'altrui scale.
Paradiso, XVII, 58–60.

all his vision and not to be dismayed at the temporary prosperity of sinners.

It is a part of Dante's theory of the government of the human race that a very lofty sphere is allotted to those who have ruled wisely. In Jupiter, the white planet, the Poet sees the spirits rising, as birds from a meadow, and forming the thirty-five letters of *Diligite iustitiam qui iudicatis terram.* When they formed the last letter M, the centre of the Latin alphabet, they halted so that Jupiter appeared like a silver dish pricked out with golden ornaments (*argento lì d'oro distinto*). Then the bright spirits of the blessed for a while separated, like the sparks when a firebrand is struck, and gradually formed the head of the Eagle of Justice.[1] As the bird rises he sings in the one voice of all righteous rulers in praise of God and answers the difficulty which has so oppressed the Poet's mind, why the good heathen who know not Christ cannot be saved. How is it that the man born on the banks of the Indus who lives virtuously, and is ignorant of Christ, because no man has told of Him, can be lost? Dante is warned, as Job was, that he as a man cannot question God's decrees. But the Eagle as it wheels around sings a nobler song. No one who knew not Christ can ascend to this realm, but many who called not on His name shall be far nearer to Him than those who knew Him.[2]

This leads to a bitter denunciation of the rulers of Europe in Dante's day. First Albert of Hapsburg (d. 1308) will be condemned for the invasion of Bohemia. Then Philip the Fair will be punished for debasing the coinage and will die by the stroke of a wild boar.[3] The Judgment will reveal the pride which is inflaming the Englishman and his Scottish enemy to madness. The Kings of Spain and Bohemia, Charles II the Lame, the King of Jerusalem (*Ciotto* = Zoppo the Lame), Portugal, and Norway will be revealed in all their baseness. A hope is expressed that Hungary, which Kingdom had fallen to the brother

[1] *Paradiso*, XVIII, 70–108.

[2] *Paradiso*, XIX, 70 ff.

[3] Philip the Fair died 1314 in this manner. Is his wickedness to the Templars condemned by Dante?

of Charles Martel, may see war no more, and Navarre is warned of the danger of falling into the hands of France by the Queen Joanna's marriage with Philip the Fair, and is told to remember the fate of Cyprus under the French régime of the dynasty of the Lusignans. Whether the Poet's strictures are just or not, this comprehensive view of the Europe of his day is invaluable to the historian.[1]

In the book following, the eye of the Eagle is explained. It consists of five great rulers: the pupil is David; those who make the Arch of the eyebrow are Trajan, Hezekiah, Constantine, William of Sicily, and the Trojan Ripheus.[2] Constantine is saved, though he caused much evil by his donation to Pope Sylvester, but a good deed even if it ruins the world is not accounted as sin to him who does it. William of Sicily, called "the Good," was the last of the house of Tancred and at his death in 1189, his kingdom passed to Constance and the Hohenstaufens, Trajan and Ripheus are present among the heathen who were saved. The story of Trajan's being rescued from Hell by the prayers of Gregory the Great was a favourite one in the Middle Ages. Dante explains that his soul was restored to his body at the prayer of the Pope and issued from thence Christian, trusting in the pierced feet of Christ. To Ripheus the Passion was revealed before his death, and he was saved. In neither was the law that in Christ alone is salvation broken.[3]

The rest of the *Paradiso*, valuable as it is for its poetry, its theology and its mysticism, is of less interest as an historical guide. Dante passes from Jupiter to Saturn, the heaven of the contemplative where are Benedict of Nursia, Peter Damiani, Bernard, and thence to the starry Heaven, the abode of the Angels. At last he reaches the Highest Heaven, the Empyrean, and there the Beatific Vision is vouchsafed to him.

[1] *Paradiso*, XIX, 115 ad fin.

[2] Virgil, *Æn.*, II, 426.

cadit et Ripheus, justissimus unus
qui fuit in Tencris et servantissimus æqui
(dis aliter visum).

[3] *Paradiso*, XX, 28–72.

But when the Church Triumphant is revealed to the Poet and the saints are seated tier upon tier, forming the Eternal Rose, there is a seat vacant with a crown above it, reserved for the Emperor Henry VII, in whom all the hopes of those who loved Italy were centred. These were to be thwarted by the baseness of Pope Clement V, a worthy successor to Boniface VIII. Dante is foretold that Henry VII will fill his throne in heaven and that soon afterwards Clement V will be cast into the pit where he will force his predecessor "him of Anagna," i.e., Boniface VIII, to even lower depths. Henry VII died in August, 1314, and Clement in the following April.[1]

Such, then, is a brief survey of Dante's great poem, which has been here almost confined to a consideration of the history of the period. He is equally an idealist, a reformer, and a poet. In Heaven he paints the glories of the future, on earth he longs for those of the past. He is clear-sighted enough to see that the Church has failed to bring peace on earth, Since Constantine made Sylvester rich, she has been blind to her true destiny, and has sought worldly power and wealth. Instead of the Bride of the Lamb she has, in Rome at least, become the Harlot of the Apocalypse. Her ambition has been the cause of the unnumbered woes of Italy.

Dante can see only one remedy. His hopes did not lie in the spirit of independence of the growing Italian republics: he had seen and suffered too much in Florence. Nor could he cherish a hope of a united Italy; for the day of national aspiration had not yet come. If the Church had failed, something as Catholic and universal must take her place. And there was nothing conceivable but a restored Empire. His idea was that the days of Charles the Great, or even of Augustus should return, and that the world should be at peace under a single head. In a sense Dante was to his age what Gregory VII had been to an earlier time; only the great Pope saw the Empire had failed, and looked with hope to the Church, and the great Poet that the Church had failed and turned to the Empire. But the Empire was not the living power the Church had been

[1] *Paradiso*, XXX, 133–148.

when Gregory VII rallied it to reform the world. Henry VII was excellent as a man, but he lacked the opportunity to become a great Emperor. Without a strong hereditary position in Germany an Emperor was powerless, and Henry of Luxemburg was one of the poorest of princes. Nor were the secular and ecclesiastical principalities of which Germany was composed a match for the new France, which was being consolidated by the unscrupulous power of an able monarch. Further Dante could not recognise the undoubted fact that no German Cæsar could really rule Italy and that the days of Charles the Great were as irrevocable as those of Augustus. Great as he was, Dante was a dreamer in exile, rather than a leader of men in a crisis of history.

Yet genius, whether practical or not, sees the truth where other men cannot; and the vision of Dante was one of the future. He paved the way for a new theory of government, and was the pioneer of the Renaissance. In his day and for long after men sought not liberty but authority. They desired someone with the ability and the right to silence the rivalries of the petty powers which distracted the world. It was this feeling which led ultimately to the formation of the despotic monarchies of France and Spain and to the régime of the Tudors in England. And this need for order, even at the price of liberty, turned the eyes of thinkers to the palmy days of Roman imperialism; and people began to realise that in the past the world had enjoyed a civilization superior to anything of which they had any experience. Thus it came to pass that instead of regarding antiquity with horror as an age of idolatry, they looked back to it as an ideal time when the world had peace under the majestic shadow of the Roman law; and as they read the story of early Rome and Greece they found men animated by a civic patriotism, unknown in their degenerate days. It was instinctively felt that the secularized church of Rome, now degraded by the fall of Boniface VIII and the sordid vices of Clement V, was incapable of restoring the virtues of the ancients, let alone of leading men forward to higher things; and the eyes of thoughtful men turned to the

Empire for guidance. When their hopes were disappointed by the death of Henry VII they were driven back to the supposed golden ages of Greece and Rome. Dante's dream of a restored Empire and a purified Church free from secular duties was the first of a series of speculations as to the principles of human society and government.

The *Divine Comedy* has been called "The latest book of the Middle Ages." In it they had reached their zenith, and hereafter their true spirit was dead. It is therefore desirable here to attempt to sum up the results of the structure of the civilization erected in the period we have endeavoured to describe.

It was built on firmly laid foundations, its conception was logical, the views of life embodied in it not ignoble. It produced a piety of the highest type, an art in some branches unsurpassed, and its influence upon mankind continues. Yet, like all human institutions, it matured, only to decay, to make way for something else. Why this stately fabric, the ruins of which still inspire our respect, collapsed, it is now necessary to enquire.

Medievalism is an essentially western product. In the East there was not that death of civilization of the classical world, out of which this conception of life arose. Greek civilization was antique till the day of its death. It had undergone no remodelling under the influence of feudalism and the Papacy, the parents of western civilization, because it had retained so much of the older world that it could assimilate little that was new. It is not by chance that the Eastern Church is Orthodox and the Western Catholic, for the prime object of orthodoxy is to retain, and of Catholicity to acquire. The glory of the Eastern Church is that its doctrine is unchangeable, that of the West that it adapts itself to the needs of humanity.

Medieval conceptions were founded upon religion and law. The theory of life at least was profoundly Christian. Society was regarded as an homogeneous entity, every member of which was a believer. For those outside the Church there was

no place. The Jew, for example, might be tolerated, but he could not possibly become a member of the commonwealth. Even the man who called himself a Christian, if he held heretical views, placed himself outside the community. For Christendom God had provided two rulers: the Pope He had set over the Church as the Vicar of Christ, and the Emperor, as the successor of Cæsar, over the world. The Church was a masterpiece of organization and discipline, and the Western World exhibited the marvel of a united spiritual body, existing in the midst of countless petty but independent principalities. Throughout Europe, monastery and cathedral towered above the baronial and even the royal castle. Around these triumphs of architecture lay the crowded hovels and narrow streets of the squalid city, a visible token of the entire subordination of material to religious interests, throughout Europe. Such, moreover, was the cohesion of the Church that, whereas to the inhabitants of most cities and villages some petty noble was of infinitely more importance than King or Emperor, the Pope was universally acknowledged as the superior of the proudest prince on earth.

The humblest priest exercised a power which might provoke the envy of any modern ruler. His spiritual prerogatives were unquestioned. He could call down Christ from Heaven, and make Him to be present among the people. His curse could affect the eternal future of those on whom it lighted, his blessing could brighten their lives and rob death of its terrors. Even if he were not a good man he was still invested with tremendous power from on High.

The Church was also the repository of priceless treasures. It was the custodian of the relics of the saints, wonder-working images, sacred wells, whose miraculous waters healed the infirmities of the believer. Religion was not simply a part of man's life; it pervaded his every action. The Church was necessary to him in all he undertook—he could neither live nor die without its aid. The powers of evil swarmed around him; and but for the Church, the saints, the angels, he might be overwhelmed at any moment. Nor did the Church appeal

only to his superstitious imagination. Almost every church was a veritable picture book; on wall and window were depicted the most important scenes, whether from the Bible or from the legends of the saints. Every child was taught simple prayers, the confessional itself was an educative influence in bringing people into direct contact with their spiritual advisers. Nor is it right to lay too much stress on the bitter criticism of the Church by the best men in the Middle Ages. Scandals there were, and very serious ones, but even when these are fully admitted, it should be borne in mind that no devout Christian has ever admired the Church of his own day. For the Church is always to her truest sons an ideal; and the devout exaggerate rather than minimize the falling short of it, which they witness around them. The faults of the rulers of the medieval Church were those of the strong, not of the weak. They were unchristian, in that they were arrogant, rapacious, and domineering; but as men conscious of power and accustomed to authority they were not obsequious, nor hypocritically humble. Their position was unassailable because it was based on the rights of the Church, which no one presumed to dispute.

In addition to this, the learning of the Middle Ages was entirely devoted to the cause of the Church. Unlike the Christianity of the East, which prided itself in resting on the past and in finding completion in the decrees of the Seven General Councils, Western religion was adventurous and progressive. In the eighth century John of Damascus was setting his seal upon the doctrine of the East; but within a century the more daring speculators of the West were seeking to fathom the theories of Augustine about predestination, and to define the meaning of the presence of Christ in the sacrament. Later Anselm was daring to question the accepted explanation of the Atonement, and Abélard was setting Europe aflame by his speculations into the infinite. Thus arose medieval scholasticism, with its combination of theology, logic, and philosophy, which produced an education, arid and narrow indeed, but excellently adapted to train the mind to the highest pitch of acuteness. Towards the close of our period Thomas Aquinas

formulated the theory of the Church with answers to all possible objections to the Faith.

The question now arises, how was it that a civilization so logical, so consistent, and at the same time so idealistic and essentially Christian collapsed? A few of the causes are here suggested.

The great difference between modern and medieval Christianity is that in theory at least the religion of the middle ages was uncompromising in its demands. It was grounded on the monastic idea of absolute surrender of all things for God. The culmination of a holy life was the withdrawal into absolute seclusion and divesting oneself of all worldly cares and thoughts. The triumph of the hierarchy under Gregory VII was that of the sternest monastic ideal which found expression in St. Peter Damiani. In the twelfth century monasteries sprang up on all sides, especially in England and France, but every generation saw fewer founded. In place men built Friaries and Colleges, and endowed chantries. By the days of Dante the enthusiasm for monastic life had gone. As long as it was ardent, new orders were founded to amend the defects of the older ones. Nothing of the kind marks the close of the Middle Ages. The abbots and monks of all orders beautified their churches, but none went forth to seek a stricter life than that of the old monastery. With the disappearance of the passion for asceticism, there arose an enthusiasm for learning, and a desire for the amenities of life. In the thirteenth century the stern crusading fanatics of the Albigensian war had crushed the gaiety of Languedoc with an iron hand. In the fourteenth, the desire of life was blossoming in the papal court at Avignon. In Thomas Aquinas and Dante the medieval ideals had been seen in all their severe logic and beauty; in Occam and Petrarch new theories of life were appearing under scholastic and poetic forms.

With the monastic ideal the spirit of true medievalism disappeared. The Friars proved that devout men might shew a better piety in activity and usefulness than in seclusion and self-absorption; the first humanists reminded men once more

that the life could be beautiful and happy, and yet Christian. But medievalism died when it ceased to produce saints of the monastic type.

That such an institution as the Papacy should have attained the immense influence it did in Western Europe cannot be explained as due either to the fraudulence of successive popes, or to the ignorance of mankind. To attain to a position of such influence as it did in the Middle Ages, it must not only have possessed great inherent vigour, but also have satisfied an urgent demand. The early medieval popes after the great reform in the eleventh century were for the most part men of piety and ability, and governed on the whole for the benefit of the Church. They seem to have reached the culminating point of usefulness in Innocent III (1198–1216), after whom a steady degeneracy in moral aims set in. The removal of the seat of their government to Avignon weakened their influence, and the long schism with its attendant scandals still further impaired the respect in which the office had been held.

The Papacy defeated the Emperor, the acknowledged secular head of the West, but was itself humbled by the kings of Europe. The decay of feudalism is about contemporary with that of monasticism, and, in both, the institutions survived their vitality. Nations gradually realised their distinctness and their unity. England, perhaps, took the lead; but in France the unification of the nation under a king, who was constantly becoming more absolute with every generation, the effect on the Church was even more evident. In Philip the Fair the Pope found a master, and the superiority of the united kingdom of France to the Empire, split up into countless principalities, is demonstrated by the way in which the French Kings defied the thunderbolts of papal excommunication, which had been so fatal in Germany. With the growth of national unity there sprang up the idea of national churches, and the notion of a king with a divine right opposed to the divine right of the Pope was slowly formed. The City of God embracing the Christian world was making way for a number of Israels, each ruled by its own successor of David. Thus modern Europe with its

nationalism began to come into being in opposition to the old unified world of Christendom which was the ideal of the Middle Ages.

AUTHORITIES

The study of Dante is one which demands almost a lifetime, and here only a preliminary course of reading can be indicated. As a preliminary I recommend R. W. Church's *Dante and other Essays;* J. A. Symonds, *The Study of Dante;* C. H. Grandgent, *Dante* (Master Spirits of Literature); Edmund G. Gardner, *Dante and the Mystics;* Bishop Boyd-Carpenter, *The Spiritual Message of Dante;* W. W. Vernon, *Readings on the Inferno; Readings on the Purgatorio; Readings on the Paradiso;* in all six volumes.

Translations of *The Divine Comedy* are numerous. To mention only a few, there are Longfellow, Norton, Cary, J. A. Carlyle (*Inferno* only). All the works of Dante in Italian are in a convenient volume edited by Dr. E. Moore. The *De Monarchia* is translated by Aurelia Henry, the *New Life* by C. E. Norton, and the *Banquet* by Katharine Hillard. The edition of the *Divine Comedy* used by me is that of P. H. Wicksteed in the Italian, with an English version on the opposite page. For the History of Florence the English translation by Wicksteed of Villani's *Chronicle* should be consulted.

IMPORTANT POPES

	Emperors or Kings of the Romans
590–604. S. Gregory I. Famous for (1) his administration of the Papacy and its estates; (2) his mission to England; (3) his dealings with the Lombards; (4) his controversy with Constantinople.	Maurice and Phocas
625–638. Honorius I. (1) Sent Birinus to Wessex in England; (2) took part in the Monothelite controversy, and was accused of weakness.	Heraclius
649–655. S. Martin I. Exiled to the Crimea, where he died a martyr.	Constans II
657–672. S. Vitalian. (1) Visit of Constans II to Rome; (2) sent Theodore of Tarsus as Archbishop of Canterbury.	Constans II (d. 668) Constantine IV
678–681. S. Agatho. (1) Appealed to by S. Wilfrid, Archbishop of York; (2) Sixth General Council condemned Monothelites at Constantinople.	Constantine IV
708–715. Constantine. (1) Visited Constantinople; (2) Council in Trullo (Quinisext) held during his pontificate in Constantinople; (3) made peace with East.	Justinian II (d. 711)
715–731. S. Gregory II. (1) Sent missionaries to Bavaria and Germany; (2) consecrated St. Boniface (Winfred of Crediton in England) a bishop; (3) supported Empire against Lombards; (4) opposed Iconoclasm.	Leo III (the Isaurian)
731–741. S. Gregory III. (1) Opposed Iconoclasm; (2) summoned Charles Martel to aid him against Lombards.	Leo III
741–752. S. Zacharias. (1) Obtains cities from the Lombard king Luitprand; (2) Merovingian dynasty ends: Pippin consecrated King of the Franks.	Constantine V (Copronymus)
752–755. S. Stephen III. (1) Crossed the Alps to seek aid against the Lombards; (2) agreement with Pippin at Kiersy; (3) crowned Pippin; (4) Donation of Pippin to the Papacy; (5) letter in name of St. Peter written to Pippin.	Constantine V

	Emperors or Kings of the Romans
772–795. Hadrian I. The great friend and supporter of Charles the Great. End of the Lombard kingdom of Italy.	Leo IV Constantine VI
795–816. S. Leo III. Crowned Charles the Great St. Peter's on Christmas Day, 800, the Empire being declared vacant by the usurpation of Irene.	(E) Constantine VI Irene (W) Charles the Great
847–855. S. Leo IV. Saracens advanced on Rome and sacked St. Peter's. Leo fortified city and surrounded the Vatican (henceforward known as the "Leonine City") with a wall.	Lothar I
858–867. S. Nicholas I. The great assertor of Papal supremacy in (1) the Photian Controversy; (2) the affair of Hincmar, Archbishop of Reims; (3) upholding the rights of the injured wife of Lothar II of Lorraine. False Decretals first heard of.	Lewis II (in Italy) (E) Michael (the Drunkard)
891–896. Formosus, Bishop of Porto. Sent to Bulgaria. After his death solemnly deposed for having as a bishop intruded himself into the See of Rome. Subsequently restored and honourably buried.	Guido (in Italy) Lambert (in Italy)
955–964. John XII. Of the family of the Counts of Tusculum, notorious for his infamous character.	Otho I
996–999. Gregory V. A German cousin of the Emperor; usurpation of Crescentius in Rome put down.	Otho III
999–1003. Sylvester II. Gerbert, Archbishop of Reims, and then of Ravenna; one of the most famous scholars of his age.	Otho III
1045–1046. Gregory VI. Friend of Hildebrand. Said to have bought the Papacy to save it from his predecessor. Exiled by the Emperor. At death, owing to a miracle, was buried as a pope.	Henry III
1046–1047. Clement II. Suidger, Bishop of Bamberg, a German appointed by the Emperor to reform the Church.	Henry III
1049–1054. S. Leo IX. Bruno, Bishop of Toul, related to the Emperor; (1) began to attack clerical matrimony; (2) crossed the Alps to reform the Church; (3) schism with the East; (4) defeated by the Normans of Sicily.	(W) Henry III (E) Constantine VIII

	Emperors or Kings of the Romans
1057–1058. STEPHEN X. Frederic of Lorraine. Made S. Peter Damiani a Cardinal.	*HENRY IV (during his minority)
1059–1061. NICHOLAS II. Held the second council of the Lateran, at which the election to the Papacy was restricted to the Cardinals of Rome.	*HENRY IV (during his minority)
1061–1073. ALEXANDER II. Sanctioned the Norman conquest of England.	*HENRY IV
1073–1085. S. GREGORY VII. The great struggle about Investiture; the Emperor goes to Canossa. Sack of Rome by Guiscard and the Normans.	*HENRY IV
1088–1099. URBAN II. A French Pope. The Crusades preached. The expeditions to the Holy Land inaugurated by the Councils of Piacenza and Clermont.	*(W) HENRY IV (E) ALEXIUS COMNENUS
1099–1118. PASCHAL II. (1) Excommunicated Henry IV, who died unabsolved; (2) quarrelled with Henry V; (3) came to agreement on Investitures with Henry I of England.	HENRY IV (d. 1106) HENRY V
1119–1124. CALIXTUS II. (1) Concordat of Worms with Emperor, settling investiture dispute; (2) First Council of the Lateran.	HENRY V
1130–1143. INNOCENT II. (1) Disputed election between him and Anacletus II (Pierleone). In France Innocent II was strongly supported by St. Bernard; (2) the Tenth General Council, Second of the Lateran.	LOTHAR II CONRAD III King of the Romans
1145–1153. B. EUGENIUS III. A Cistercian monk and a friend of St. Bernard. Dealt wisely with popular seditions in Rome.	CONRAD III King of the Romans
1154–1159. HADRIAN IV. An Englishman; (1) crowned Frederic I; (2) laid Rome under an interdict; (3) Arnold of Brescia executed.	FREDERIC I (Barbarossa)
1159–1181. ALEXANDER III. (1) Mediated between Henry II of England and Becket; (2) supported the Lombard League against Emperor.	FREDERIC I
1198–1216. INNOCENT III. One of the greatest of the Popes; (1) capture of Constantinople by Latins; (2) Albigensian crusade; (3) General Council of the Lateran; confession made obligatory.	OTHO IV

*Henry IV. was never Emperor, having been crowned by an Anti-pope.

	Emperors or Kings of the Romans
1216–1227. HONORIUS III. Orders of Dominicans and Franciscans.	FREDERIC II
1227–1241. GREGORY IX. (1) Canon Law codified; (2) Inquisition sanctioned; (3) Frederic II twice excommunicated.	FREDERIC II
1243–1254. INNOCENT IV. (1) Bitter quarrel with Emperor Frederic II (d. 1250); (2) Papal exactions in England; (3) first General Council of Lyons.	FREDERIC II CONRAD IV
1261–1264. URBAN IV. A Frenchman. Gave crown of Sicily to Charles of Valois.	Interregnum
1271–1276. B. GREGORY X. (1) Recognised Rudolph of Hapsburg in Germany; (2) second General Council of Lyons; the Conclave established.	RUDOLPH I (of Hapsburg) King of the Romans
1294–1294. S. CELESTINE V. The Hermit, Peter Murrone, decreed that a Pope might abdicate. According to Dante made "the great refusal."	ADOLPH (of Nassau) King of the Romans
1294–1303. BONIFACE VIII. (1) Jubilee at Rome; (2) issued the Bull *Clericis Laicos;* (3) brutally treated by the emissaries of Philip the Fair, of France.	ALBERT I (of Hapsburg) King of the Romans
1305–1314. CLEMENT V. (1) Transferred Papal court to Avignon; (2) sanctioned the suppression of the Knights Templar.	ALBERT HENRY VII (of Luxemburg) 1308–1313

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